REPORT

OF THE

FIRST ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

HELD NEAR GARNVILLE,

On the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of April,

1836.

CINCINNATI:
PUBLISHED BY THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
CORNER OF SEVENTH AND MAIN STREETS.
1836.

MINUTES.

The Ohio Anti-Slavery Society held its first Anniversary near Granville, Licking co., on the 27th and 28th of April, 1836.

The session commenced in the barn of Ashley Bancroft, on Wednesday, at half past 10 o'clock, A. M.

The meeting was called to order by James Stewart of Bloomingburg, Vice President.

Opened with prayer, by James H. Dickey of Greenfield.

Abram Brooke of Marlboro, and Archibald Miles of Brunswick, were chosen Secretaries.

The following is a list of the delegates present:

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Lewis Miller,	Akron,	Portage co.
John Hunt,	Amesville,	Athens co.
James Wallace,	Antrim,	Guernsey co.
R. M. Walker,	Austinsburg,	Ashtabula co.
Mrs. Walker,	"	"
Asahel Case,	"	"
James Stewart,	Bloomingburg,	Fayette co.
Wm. Dickey,	"	"
Hugh C. Stewart,	"	"
Alex. M. McCoy,	"	"
Jos. W. Elliott,	"	"
David C. Eastman,	"	"
Alexander Sears,	"	"
Archibald Stewart,	"	"
John Vandaman,	"	"
Wm. A. Ustick,	"	"
James T. Claypoole,	"	"
J. B. Johnston,	Bellefontaine,	Logan co.
H. S. Carter,	Brimfield,	Portage co.
Archibald Miles,	Brunswick,	Medina co.
Hamon Kingsbury,	Cleveland,	Cuyahoga co.
J. H. Foote,	"	"
Samuel Denny,	Circleville,	Pickaway co.
John Dickson,	Columbiana,	Columbiana co.
James G. Birney,	Cincinnati,	Hamilton co.
Christian Donaldson,	"	"
John Melendy,	"	"
Amzi D. Barber,	"	"
Augustus Wattles,	"	"
Emeline Bishop,	"	"
Susan E. Lowe,	"	"
Phebe Matthews,	"	"

H. S. Gillet,	Columbus,	Franklin co.
Eli Kitts,	"	"
Robert Hanna,	Cadiz,	Harrison co.
S. G. Porter,	Dover,	Cuyahoga co.
Joseph H. Payne,	"	"
Horace Bushnell,	Delhi,	Hamilton co.
H. H. Coit,	Euclid,	Cuyahoga co.
P. Bliss,	Elyria,	Lorain co.
John Mullen,	Felicity,	Clermont co.
Robert Stewart,	Frankfort,	Ross co.
Roswell Grosvener,	Fulton,	Hamilton co.
Wm. Palmer,	Flushing,	Belmont co.
Harrison Thurston,	Fredonia,	Licking co
Laura Nash,	"	"
Mrs. N. Thurston,	"	"
M. L. Brooks,	Georgetown,	Brown co.
Samuel Crothers,	Greenfield,	Highland co.
James H. Dickey,	"	"
Thomas Rogers,	"	"
John Morton,	"	"
Morris Place,	Green Plain,	Clark co.
Elizabeth Borton,	"	"
W. W. Bancroft,	Granville,	Licking co.
Joseph Lennell,	"	"
Jared Bancroft,	"	"
Wm. Wright,	"	"
Wm. Roberts,	"	"
E. C. Wright,	"	"
Joseph L. Langdon,	"	"
Joseph Weeks,	"	"
O. M. Thrall,	"	"
Samuel White,	"	"
Wm. Whitney,	"	"
Abram Clark, jun.,	Huntsburg,	Geauga co.
W. Daws,	Hudson,	Portage co.
Frederick Brown,	"	"
David Dutton,	Harrisonville,	Harrison co.
Jay Wheaton,	Irville,	Muskingum co.
Isaac Whitehead,	Jersey,	Licking co.
E. F. Whitehead,	"	"
John J. Griswold,	Kinsman,	Trumbull co.
Sheldon Guthrie,	Kalida,	Putnam co.
Daniel G. Stanley,	Lower Salem,	Washington co.
Asa Strong,	Lyme,	Huron co.
R. R. Stone,	"	"
Samuel Lee,	Medina,	Medina co.
Charles Olcott,	"	"
Wm. Cochran,	Mt. Vernon,	Knox co.
Wm. Robinson,	"	"
G. H. Drake,	"	"
J. L. Sampson,	"	"
James Trimble,	"	"
David Rigdon,	"	"
Isaac Thorn,	"	"
W. W. Beebe,	"	"
Mrs. Beebe,	"	"
Israel Mattison,	"	"
B. W. Higbee,	"	"
Gavin Blair,	"	"
Philander Raymond,	Madison,	Geauga co.

T. B. Wickham,	Marietta,	Washington co.
Samuel Hall,	"	"
Robert R. McIlwayne,	"	"
Luther Temple,	"	"
E. Judson,	Milan,	Huron co.
Mrs. Judson,	"	"
Benj. Gass,	Mansfield,	Richland co.
Archibald Stewart,	Midway,	Madison co.
James Austin,	Marlboro,	Stark co.
Abram Brooke,	"	"
S. S. Miles,	Newark,	Licking co.
W. G. Gage,	New Richmond,	Clermont co.
Francis Donaldson,	"	"
George Garretson,	New Lisbon,	Columbiana co.
Jesse Holmes,	"	"
Thomas Galbraith,	New Garden,	Columbiana co.
Benjamin Hambleton,	"	"
Joseph Ingraham,	"	"
Ruth Galbraith,	"	"
Elizabeth Fagate,	"	"
John Jamison,	New Concord,	Muskingum co.
E. B. Sherwood,	Oberlin,	Lorain co.
C. S. Renshaw,	"	"
Amos Dresser,	"	"
Thomas Jones,	"	"
P. Wells Gray,	"	"
J. T. Pierce,	"	"
John W. Barrows,	"	"
W. S. Lewis,	"	"
John L. Lewis,	"	"
Lucius Mills,	"	"
John S. Griffin,	"	"
Henry Cowles,	"	"
Asa Mahan,	"	"
Delazon Smith,	"	"
J. W. Alvord,	"	"
C. T. Chamberlin,	"	"
Isaac D. Cornwall,	"	"
W. Shiffield,	"	"
W. T. Allen,	"	"
S. W. Streeter,	"	"
James A. Thome,	"	"
Lysander Cowles,	"	"
Hiram Wilson,	"	"
Mary Ann Thome,	"	"
Miss Barker,	"	"
Miss Ranny,	"	"
Abram Baer, jun.,	Osnaburg,	Stark co.
A. G. Allen,	Putnam,	Muskingum co.
Henry C. Howells,	"	"
M. Gillespie,	"	"
Mrs. Gillespie,	"	"
Mary Sturges,	"	"
H. Maria Howells,	"	"
Ann T. Allen,	"	"
A. A. Guthrie,	"	"
Levi Whipple,	"	"
Lucy Whipple,	"	"
Horace Nye,	"	"
Uri Seelye,	Painesville,	Geauga co.

John Rankin,	Ripley,	Brown co.
B. Sturtevant,	Ruggles,	Huron co.
George Clark,	Sheffield,	Lorain co.
F. D. Parish,	Sandusky,	Huron co.
J. L. Pangburn,	Sardinia,	Brown co.
Isaac Lewis,	Short Creek,	Harrison co.
Wm. E. Lukins,	"	"
Mrs. Lukins,	"	"
Elias M. Lewis,	"	"
Hiram Turning,	St. Albans,	Licking co.
Helon Rose,	"	"
W. B. McCrary,	"	"
Asa Gurney,	"	"
John Gaffield,	"	"
Wm. Mansell,	"	"
Levi Nichols,	"	"
Allen Barns,	"	"
Mahlon Holden,	"	"
Carlton Lockwood,	"	"
Lewis Barns,	"	"
Benj. Carpenter,	"	"
Amos Carpenter,	"	"
Benj. Stanton,	Salem,	Columbiana co.
Abner G. Kirk,	"	"
Joseph G. Wilson,	South Hanover Col.,	Indiana.
F. F. Fenn,	Tallmadge,	Portage co.
Lucy Wright,	"	"
—— Knowlton,	Utica,	Licking co.
L. W. Knowlton,	"	"
Edward Wade,	Unionville,	Geauga co.
Theron Plumb,	Vernon,	Trumbull co.
E. Barber,	Vermillion,	Huron co.
W. H. Rogers,	Wilmington,	Clinton co.
J. L. Vandeman,	Washington,	Fayette co.
S. White,	Welsh Hills,	Licking co.
John White,	"	"
T. P. Owens,	"	"
E. Davis,	"	"
W. R. Griffeth,	"	"
J. Pittsford,	"	"
E. White,	"	"
H. C. Taylor,	Western Reserve Col.,	Portage co.

Resolved, That Mr. Wilson from Hanover College, Indiana, who is now present, be invited to sit as corresponding member.

A. A. Guthrie, Cor. Sec., read the report of the Executive Committee, which was adopted, and ordered to be printed. [See Reports, No. 1.]

The following resolution was offered and advocated by James G. Birney:

Resolved, That in order to perpetuate our free institutions, the subject of slavery ought to be fully discussed by the non-slave-holding states.

Passed unanimously.

Adjourned till half past 2 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON.

Meeting called to order.

James Stewart in the chair.

Treasurer's report read and accepted. [See Reports, No. 2.]

An Appeal to the Females of Ohio, by James A. Thome, was read and ordered to be printed. [See Reports, No. 3.]

The following resolution was offered and advocated by H. Cowles of Oberlin, and J. A. Foote of Cleveland:

Resolved, That Justice, Humanity and Conscience require, that we continue to press unceasingly upon Congress the duty of abolishing slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

Passed unanimously.

The following individuals were nominated delegates to attend the Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York, on the 10th of May:

ROBERT HANNA,
J. WALKER,
GOODSELL BUCKINGHAM,
EDWARD WEED,
J. L. SEVERANCE,
WM. T. ALLAN,
EDWARD WADE,
ISAAC GILLET,
SAMUEL LIDAY,
M. DUSTIN,
FRANKLIN PAYNE.

The following resolution was offered and advocated by John Rankin of Ripley, and James H. Dickey of Greenfield:

Resolved, That the *American* slave trade involves within itself, all the cruelties and horrors of the *African:* therefore, we call on all those who are carrying it on, at once to cease.

Passed unanimously.

Adjourned till to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

THURSDAY MORNING.

James Stewart in the chair.

Prayer by Samuel Crothers.

The committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year made a report, which was adopted. [See end of the Minutes.]

A resolution to amend the 4th article of the Constitution, in order to change the location of the Executive Committee from Muskingum to Hamilton county, passed unanimously.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the officers of this society, who are located in Hamilton county, be constituted the Executive Committee.

The following resolution was advocated by Edward Wade A. A. Guthrie, Augustus Wattles and James G. Birney:

Resolved, That we raise $5,000 this year, to be appropriated to anti-slavery purposes.

While the subscription was taking up, a motion was made to re-consider the resolution, which was passed.

An amendment was then introduced to strike out '$5,000,' and insert '$10,000,' which was carried by acclamation.

A subscription of $4,500 was taken up on the spot.

Resolution by A. A. Guthrie, seconded by A. G. Allen,

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to extend such aid to colored schools in Ohio, as in their opinion may be necessary.

Passed unanimously.

John Rankin read a report on the duty of churches with regard to slavery: adopted unanimously and ordered to be printed. [See Reports, No. 4.]

Resolved, That every minister in Ohio be furnished with a copy of Rankin's Report.

Resolution by E. Judson of Milan:

Resolved, That slavery in its nature tends to dissolve the Union, corrupt public morals, and destroy that sense of right and wrong, without which liberty soon degenerates into licentiousness.

Resolution by Asa Mahan of Oberlin, seconded by Horace Bushnell of Delhi:

Whereas, Oppression in the form of slave-holding, has been considered by the great body of the christian church in the free states as sinful, and to be tolerated for the time being, only, because of the hope entertained, that the slave-holding portion of the church would at length humble itself before God, repent of the sin of oppressing its brethren, and put it away;—and, Whereas, the said slave-holding portion of the

church has in its late action on the subject of slavery, given strong ground to believe that the hope indulged, as aforesaid, was fallacious, and that said portion of the church looks forward to no period, when negro emancipation will be required by her as a christian duty—to no time when it will cease from the oppression of the poor and needy,—therefore, *Resolved*, That the time has now come, when it is the duty of the church to debar from her privileges, all who persist in the sin of holding their fellow-men in the bondage of slavery.

Passed unanimously.

Resolution by F. D. Parish of Sandusky:

Resolved, That, in our view, the laws of this state in reference to black and mulatto persons, are inconsistent with individual rights, opposed to the principles of natural justice and humanity, highly oppressive in their character, evasive of the provisions of the constitution of the Union, and wholly at at variance with the spirit of the constitution of our own state.

Passed unanimously.

Resolution by Jesse Holmes of New Lisbon:

Resolved, That we recommend to all our anti-slavery friends to abstain entirely from the use of articles, which are the product of slave labor.

Passed unanimously.

Resolution by F. D. Parish of Sandusky:

Resolved, That the thanks of this society be respectfully tendered to Ashley Bancroft, for the use of his barn on this occasion; and that we heartily forgive the unkindness of that portion of our fellow-citizens, which rendered it necessary to hold our meeting in so unusual a place.

Passed unanimously.

Resolved, That the thanks of this society be tendered to such of the citizens of Granville and its vicinity, as have extended to us their kind and generous hospitalities during the anniversary.

On motion, adjourned, sine die.

Prayer by R. Stone.

JAMES STEWART, *Chairman.*

ABRAM BROOKE, }
ARCHIBALD MILES, } *Secretaries.*

LIST OF OFFICERS FOR THE ENSUING YEAR.

PRESIDENT.

LEICESTER KING,	*Trumbull co.*

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Alexander Campbell,	*Brown co.*
James Gilliland,	*do.*
Charles G. Finney,	*Oberlin College.*
Asa Drury,	*Granville College.*
Reese E. Price,	*Hamilton co.*
Francis Dunlavy,	*Warren co.*
William Keys,	*Highland co.*
David Long,	*Cuyahoga co.*
Elizur Wright,	*Portage co.*
Nathan Colbreath,	*Columbiana co.*
James Stewart,	*Fayette co.*
Abraham Baer,	*Stark co.*
William R. Hudson,	*Geauga co.*
Samuel Denny,	*Pickaway co.*
Orestes K. Hawley,	*Ashtabula co.*
Levi Whipple,	*Muskingum co.*
J. S. Waugh,	*Butler co.*
William Sloan,	*Harrison co.*
Daniel Miller,	*Seneca co.*
Thomas Campbell,	*Jefferson co.*

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Augustus Wattles,	*Cincinnati.*

RECORDING SECRETARY.

Gamaliel Bailey,	*Cincinnati.*

TREASURER.

William Donaldson,	*Cincinnati.*

MANAGERS.

Asa Mahan,	*Oberlin College.*
Harmon Kingsbury,	*Cuyahoga co.*
James G. Birney,	*Cincinnati.*
Isaac Colby,	*do.*
William Holyoke,	*do.*
Thomas Mavlin,	*do.*
John Melindy,	*do.*
Christian Donaldson,	*do.*

MANAGERS.

Dyer Burgess,	*Adams co.*
John Hunt,	*Athens co.*
Joshua R. Giddings,	*Ashtabula co.*
Jacob Coon,	*Belmont co.*
J. B. Mahan,	*Brown co.*
John Rankin,	*do.*
Thomas Hibben,	*Clinton co.*
Alexander Campbell,	*Clermont co.*
Manasseh Baer,	*Carrol co.*
James Hambleton,	*Columbiana co.*
M. B. Cushing,	*Franklin co.*
Uri Seeley,	*Geauga co.*
John Walker,	*Harrison co.*
Robert Hanna,	*do.*
Robert Bell,	*Holmes co.*
Everton Judson,	*Huron co.*
William Flanner,	*Jefferson co.*
W. W. Beebe,	*Knox co.*
Joseph Riggs,	*Lawrence co.*
W. W. Bancroft,	*Licking co.*
J. B. Johnson,	*Logan co.*
John Monteith,	*Lorain co.*
Archibald Stewart,	*Madison co.*
Timothy Hudson,	*Medina co.*
Charles Dungan,	*Monroe co.*
James H. Shield,	*Montgomery co.*
Horace Nye,	*Muskingum co.*
John Wallace,	*do.*
G. C. Beaman,	*Pike co.*
Asahel Kilbourn,	*Portage co.*
J. B. Finley,	*Pickaway co.*
P. H. Gallady,	*Preble co.*
Sheldon Guthrie,	*Putnam co.*
Robert Stewart,	*Ross co.*
Goodsell Buckingham,	*Richland co.*
Samuel McCullock,	*Shelby co.*
Riverius Bidwell,	*Trumbull co.*

A LIST OF

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES IN OHIO.

Name.	*County.*	*No.*	*President.*	*Secretary.*
Ashtabula co.	Ashtabula			L. Bissel
" female	"	437	Mrs. L. Bissell	Miss B.M.Cowles
Austinburg	"		Nathan Austin	
Avon	Lorain			
Akron	Cuyahoga	30	Ansel Miller	Wm. E. Wright
Brunswick	Medina	86	A. Deming	A. Miles
Batavia	Geauga			
Bristol				
Bloomfield	Trumbull	26	Norman Kimball	John Smith
Brimfield	Portage	43	H. L. Carter	Wm. Hall
Cadiz	Harrison	70	Thomas Lee	Wm. Boyce
Charleston	Portage	25	R. Loomis	C. G. Austin
Columbiana	Columbiana	43	John Dixon	Lot Holmes
Columbiana co.		40	James Hambleton	Abner G. Kirk
Cleveland	Cuyahoga	70	D. Long	S. L. Severance
Chester	Geauga			
Cuyahoga Falls	Cuyahoga	50	B. Boothe	O. Wetmore
Carlisle	Lorain	40	Phineas Johnson	N. S. Bishop
Cincinnati	Hamilton	93	J. C. Ludlow	G. Bailey
Clarksfield	Huron	26	J. Huff	T. T. Husted
Canton female	Stark	11	Mrs. John Myers	Mrs. H. Griswold
Cadiz female	Harrison	40	Mrs. E. Wilson	Miss A. Tingley
Cherokee	Logan	30	James S. Johnson	John Scott
Dover	Cuyahoga	58	Leveret Johnson	H. W. Howard
Delhi & Storrs	Hamilton			
Elyria	Lorain	70	Fred. Hamlin	L. Burnell
Euclid	Cuyahoga	28	Henry H. Coit	Asa Cady
Edinburg	Portage	24		E. Pearson
Elyria female	Lorain	45	Abigail Monticth	Mary L. Brown
Freeport		25	H. Caron	
Farmington	Trumbull			Henry Wolcott
Felicity	Brown	60		
Fitchville	Huron	62	W. M. Ladd	Joseph Wood
Freedom	Portage	30	George Ranny	Daniel Millikan
Fayette co.		97	William Dickey	J. T. Claypoole
Fulton	Hamilton	24	John R. Hoper	S. R. Badeau
Flushing	Belmont	17	R. C. Kirk	Smith Halloway
Granville	Licking	50	Asa Drury	W. W. Bancroft
Georgetown	Brown	23	Samuel King	Erastus Curtis
Greensburg	Trumbull	75	Wm. Harrington	—— Churchill
Gustavus	"	84	Asa Case	J. W. Selby
Granville female	Licking	40	Mrs. S. Leonard	Mrs. M. E. Drury
Greenplain	Clarke			
Geneva female	Ashtabula	25	Philena Cowles	Mary Fitch
Georgetown	Harrison	70	John Hammond	Isaac Lewis
Geneva	Ashtabula	40	H. S. Spencer	Alpheus Cowles
Grand River Instit.	"	30	R. M. Walker	Sam. W. Graves

Name.	*County.*	*No.*	*President.*	*Secretary.*
Harrisville	Harrison	45	J. Mercer	R. Dutton
Hudson	Portage	84	Heman Oviatt	I. B. Walker
Hartford	Trumbull	60	Davis Fuller	David Bushnell
Harrison co.	Harrison			
Hinckley	Medina	46	John Dunham	Orlando Wilcox
Hanover	Columbiana	40	George Sloan	Abel Carey
Jersey	Licking			
Johnsonville	Trumbull	50	O. S. Ellis	N. Webb
Kirtland	Geauga	86	D. Martindale	Samuel Billings
Kinsman	Trumbull			D. Allen
Lexington				
Lorain co.			J. H. Eells	A. A. Bliss
Litchfield	Medina	72	J. Nickerson	Oviatt Cole
Liverpool	"	54	Moses Deming	Eri S. Warner
Lyme	Huron			
Madison	Geauga	80	Henry T. Kelley	R. E. W. Adams
Marietta	Washington	106	Luke Dewitt	Samuel Hall
Miami University	Butler			J. M. Stone
Medina	Medina	130	Samuel Lee	T. Hudson
Mahoning	Stark	83	David Allen	J. H. Day
Middlebury	Portage			
Muskingum co.	Muskingum	150	Levi Whipple	J. C. Brown
Muskingum female	"	52	Lucinda Nye	Maria Sturgess
Madison female	Geauga	112	Mrs. Kelley	Mrs. A. Glezen
Mt. Vernon	Knox	25	—— Baning	L. Brook
Marlboro'	Stark	90	Wm. Garrigen	A. Brooke
Mt. Union	"			
Mt. Pleasant	Jefferson			
Milan	Huron	70	E. Barber	J. Hambleton
Middletown	Columbiana	20	Joel Simkins	J. Cockrane
New Richmond	Clermont	60	Elias R. Day	W. G. Gage
New Athens	Harrison	50	Alex. Hammond	Hugh Stevens
North Bloomfield		24	N. Kimball	Asa Smith
New Concord	Muskingum	50	James Gray	Johnson Welch
New Garden	Columbiana	141		B. B. Davis
Nelson	Portage	50		S. Baldwin
New Lisbon	Columbiana	40	George Garretson	John Frost
Oberlin	Lorain	300	J. J. Shipherd	U.T Chamberlain
Oberlin female	"	48	Miss M. Penfield	Mrs.L.F.Ingersol
Oberlin y'ng ladies	"	86	M. A. Whittlesey	A. L. Tenny
Paint Valley	Portage	942	Samuel Steel	James H. Dickey
Portage co. female	"	300	Mrs. J. Swift	Lucy M. Wright
Portage co. male				
Pickaway co.	Geauga			
Painesville		120	T. Richmond	B. Pepoon
Ripley	Brown	140	Alex. Campbell	Charles Porter
Randolph		53	R. Bement	Truman Case
Ravenna	Portage	16		
Richfield	Medina	16	S. J. Brown	Willys Welton

Name.	*County.*	*No.*	*President.*	*Secretary.*
Streetsboro'	Portage	46	Charles Crocker	D. Lane
Sheffield	Lorain	48	M. Garfield	J. S. Burrell
Somerton	Belmont	85	Moses Davis	B. Stanton
St. Albans	Licking	80	John Gufficld	Mahlon Holden
Salem	Columbiana	67	B. Stanton	Abner G. Kirk
Stark co.		43	James Austin	Abm. Baer, jun.
Tallmadge	Portage	91	John Lane	E. Wright
Vienna	Trumbull	36	Wm. H. Read	A. M. Read
Vernon	"	26	Theron Plumb	Samuel Plumb
Vernon female	"	26	Mrs. Coe	
West. Reserve Col.	Portage	70	D. H. Babcock	H. A. Taylor
Windham		60	Wm. Hamford	—— Kingsley
Warren				
West Union	Adams	60		
Welch Hill	Licking	50		
Wakeman	Huron	70	X. Betts	D. H. Bunce, sen.
Wellington	Lorain	60	D. Johns	Homer Hamlin
Waynesburgh	Wayne	85	J. S. Farr	R. Babcock
Wayne female	Ashtabula		Mrs. Brooks	Wm. Rogers
Waynesburg	Stark		J. Koontz	—— Welch
Willoughby	Cuyahoga	121	Samuel Wilson	H. Hosmer
White Oak	Brown	130	H. Pangburn	J. B. Mahan

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

NO. 1.

In presenting the first Annual Report of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, your committee claim that indulgence which is usually extended to those who are called to the performance of a work, to them new, and for which they feel themselves greatly incompetent.

Prior to 1835, but little had been done in Ohio for the cause of emancipation. The call for a convention—its meeting—the formation of this society, (in April last,) are matters of history;—the effects of that convention—the operations of this society, together with anti-slavery efforts generally, have been the occasion of developing a state of society, painful alike to the patriot and christian. With unaffected surprise we find ourselves engaged in a contest, involving the most momentous consequences: not our nation's prosperity merely, but the very existence of our free institutions, are staked upon the issue.

It remains, yet, a question, whether republican liberty can be enjoyed in this country — whether law and order are to be maintained; whether a sense of justice and due regard for the rights of others will sway the minds of our fellow-citizens, or licentiousness, anarchy and despotism prevail.

The superficial observer will regard our apprehensions as groundless. The people have so long listened to the flattering eulogies of political aspirants and other public speakers — they have so delighted in the prophetic greatness and perpetuity of our country — they have contracted so strong an aversion to any but bright pictures, that it is difficult to excite apprehensions of real danger.

We, too, have cherished the hope, so dear to every American heart. We have trusted that the paternal character of our institutions, the leniency of our laws, and the purity of our political creed, would so effectually secure the affection and confidence of the people, and beget such a sacred regard for law and order, as to insure exemption from the evils of anarchy on the one hand, and of despotism on the other.

We have been willing to believe, that whilst other governments from their very structure must be subject to many vicissitudes, *ours* would remain stable: and that though in *other* lands liberal principles might advance to-day and recede to-morrow, and ultimately be lost in the thick gloom of settled despotism; yet in *ours*, their cheering rays would rise and increase until they should lighten the path and warm the heart of every human being in our land.

In early life we imbibed the idea, and tenderly cherished it, — that whatever of wrong or of error was permitted to exist in our institutions, or was through negligence or a supposed necessity incorporated with our constitution or laws, would soon yield to the remedies prescribed by patriotism and religion, and that, in process of time, we should advance from point to point, until all our institutions, based on the principles of eternal right, should become the admiration of nations, and serve as bright examples to the lovers of freedom throughout the world.

We supposed our countrymen honest in their belief of the great truth that 'all men are created equal, and are inalienably entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;' and we trusted they would act on the practical doctrines which that declaration involves: — and when, as if to challenge the love and confidence of the nations of the earth, and give to all mankind a solemn pledge of our sincerity, we threw wide our doors and advertised the world of an asylum for the oppressed,

when both in story and in song we boasted of the 'land of the *free* and home of the brave,'—we were slow to believe, that we should long continue to give a practical contradiction of our professions.

But above all, as christians, we looked to and trusted in the purifying and enlightening influences of that gospel whose spirit is the very essence of liberty—and when the church took her stand and declared for the conversion of the world, we hailed the event as the last and surest guaranty of our country's safety. But the events of the past year have abated our confidence,—they have affected us with much of doubt and alarm.

We find that principles, absolutely essential to human liberty, long since considered as forever established, are doubted in theory, and denied in practice by a large number of the people of these United States; and that the bright visions of our forefathers and our own long cherished hopes may yet prove but day dreams, soon to be dissipated by the most painful realities.

We feel, that some of these events should be brought out in our report, not only because they are connected with the history of anti-slavery operations, but that they may serve as beacons to warn future generations of the dangers to which we are exposed,—dangers not the less alarming, because our own friends and neighbors appear unconscious of their existence.

The arrogant demands of the south have been gradually yielded to, till little but the name of liberty is left us: freedom of speech exists only in name—its exercise being at the hazard of personal safety: the right of petition is called in question—liberty of the press, notwithstanding the boasted guaranty of the constitution, is virtually lost: the right of discussion, a right as undoubted as the right to breathe, is gravely denied. In short, *birthright* endowments have become obsolete, and are talked of as *privileges*, which may be withheld by law, or infringed upon and wrested away by mobocratic violence.

Brute force has in many instances usurped the place of law—passion, of reason—abuse, of argument—and insult, of urbanity.

The United States mail has been plundered, and its contents publicly burned—its constitutional use withheld at the caprice of the deputies of the department. Citizens of the free states can no longer travel at the south but at the peril of their

lives, unless they seal their mouths on the subject of slavery, or justify the system.

A surrender of our inalienable rights, we are told, is indispensible to a preservation of the union.

Insolent demands are made for the enactment of laws, which would strike a death blow to the very semblance of liberty.

Citizens of irreproachable life are formally claimed as fugitives from justice.

Immense sums are offered for the abduction of free citizens for the avowed purpose of putting them to death.

Peaceful, law-abiding men, have been publicly assaulted—private dwellings forcibly entered—property destroyed—lawful assemblies of citizens dispersed—and religious meetings broken up.

Citizens, not charged with crime, have been hunted like felons—others dragged from their beds at midnight—and some, without even the form of trial, subjected to the most disgraceful inflictions—and life is taken without trial by jury; —and almost in vain is redress sought from the tribunals of our country.

All these things, crowded as they have been into the space of a few short months, have failed to arouse the country to a sense of her danger.

The press, that palladium of our liberties as we have heretofore considered it, has not only failed to condemn the guilty and refused to defend the innocent,—but, by systematic misrepresentation, has been the chief instrument in fomenting the mind of the disorderly and goading them on to outrage.

Nor have the great mass of intelligent citizens entered their protest against these acts of violence: while great meetings have been held, and strong resolutions adopted condemnatory of the innocent occasion of such acts, the lawless have been suffered to pass on unrebuked.

Nay more—the evidence is conclusive, that few, if any, mobs would have occurred but for the countenance given by those from whom better things might have been expected. 'Gentlemen of property and standing,' under the specious plea of patriotism, have taken such ground as to give encouragement to riots: whether with design, we pretend not to say.

It is with unfeigned grief that we are obliged to record our testimony against the church—but we dare not disobey the command, 'Thou shalt in *any wise* rebuke thy neighbor.'

While we have been cherishing the fond hope that the gospel would do away all oppression, and introduce the reign of

love; that peace on earth and good will to man was not alone to be the song of angels, but the desire of every christian heart;—how sad our disappointment, how deep our humility, to see the church, with multitudes of ministers and leaders, making compromises with the world, and bowing down and paying hemage to a corrupt public sentiment.

Eagerness to extend her borders, to become popular, to accommodate herself to the rich and great, has taken the place of longings after holiness; and a rigid adherence to right, has given place to laxity of morals, uncharitableness and oppression:—thus we see members of the church selling their brethren in the Lord, and a nation of heathen kept in our midst by their aid and consent, for the purpose of administering to the ease, luxury and licentiousness of a depraved and degenerating people.

While we thus deplore the moral obliquity of the church as a whole, we speak with gratitude of the stand taken by some denominations, and many ministers and members in others. In this connexion, we would express our regret that so many ministers, in the free states, who profess to believe our cause just and to hope it will succeed—persuade themselves that they can innocently stand aloof from it. Thus subjecting themselves to the charge of inconsistency, and forfeiting the confidence of all, they are the very mean of keeping up that excitement they so much deprecate, and of perpetuating that extreme sensitiveness which characterises the church with regard to this subject.

Such is a brief view of the moral condition of our beloved country; and it would seem, while we have been most rapidly advancing in arts and sciences, in the development of our strength and wonderful resources, and getting us a great name—that in devotedness to the rights of man, in the practice of correct morals, and in true, enlightened patriotism, we have as rapidly retrograded.

And what is the *cause* of all these alarming indications? We answer, Slavery, more than any one thing, is to be held accountable for the evils of which we complain; for an habitual, total disregard of the rights of a large portion of our fellow-men, has blunted or destroyed that sense of right and wrong, which constitutes the *vital principle* of rational liberty.

The present generation have grown up under such influences, that in the very nature of things the strong are disposed to bear down the weak.

They have been educated, practically, in the belief that (some) men have no *inalienable* rights;—they have seen the

most grinding oppression, practiced by many, justified by more, palliated by most, tolerated by law, and sanctified by the church.

The spirit of misrule has been wide-spread: the disgrace rests on no particular section—Onio comes in for her full share. For the purpose of preventing discussion, or dispersing religious meetings, mobs have been raised in Circleville, Granville, Zanesville, Painesville, Marietta, Willoughby, St. Albans, Brimfield, New Lisbon, Mt. Vernon, Middlebury, Grafton, and Mt. Pleasant.

Some of these outrages have been attended by circumstances of considerable aggravation: dangerous missiles have been employed,—insult and invective were the least objectionable attendants. The mob from Zanesville visited the neighboring town of Putnam, some five or six times—dispersing and disturbing meetings by day, and by night assaulting houses, destroying property, and ordering persons abiding there to leave the place. The Willoughby mob abducted a peaceful citizen from his lodgings at a late hour of the night—carried him five or six miles, and after a vain attempt to extort a promise not to return, left him. At Marietta, the object of attack was a religious meeting: so also at New Lisbon, (on the Sabbath:) at Mt. Vernon, the *watchword* was, 'No discussion!'

But we will not dwell on a part of the subject so painful, so revolting to our feelings, and involving in dishonor such of our fellow-citizens as were engaged, either as perpetrators or abettors.

The operations of anti-slavery societies have been the means of making manifest to ALL, the true state of feeling cherished by many of our fellow-citizens of this state. Whilst they have had the effect of drawing from his place of secrecy and silence our adversary, it has been with surprise that we have seen him so formidable in his aspect—so gigantic in stature. We had not believed till now, that the pro-slavery spirit could have found such nourishment or grown to such size, under a constitution which, more than any other in the union, puts its seal of reprobation on oppression under the form of slave-holding. The sentiment widely disseminated is, that though slavery be a sin, yet it is *such* an one that it may be tolerated—that its immediate abolition would be a *greater* sin. In these absurdities, many ministers and professing christians agree—thereby declaring that men are *compelled* to commit sin.

Many are found *justifying* slavery by the Bible, and at the same time pronouncing it *wrong*—others say it is right.

Our attachment *to*, and understanding *of* the political creed of our country has also been tested, and indubitable proof furnished of the necessity of anti-slavery associations in the free states, irrespective of any influence they may have on the slaveholders,—for the discussion of this subject is but the discussion of human rights, and these rights to be enjoyed *must* be understood.

While there is much to alarm the fears and grieve the hearts of the friends of liberty and of God, yet the success of the cause of emancipation has inspired us with hope. We trust there is a redeeming spirit abroad in the land.

In exhibiting the evidence of success, we are obliged to deal more in generalities than we could wish, and to speak of what has *been* done, rather than what *we* have done.

The Executive Committee have been located where they have had no access to or use of the newspaper press, and have not been furnished with the means for employing agents; consequently, about all they have done as a committee, has been to perfect as well as they could the organization of the society, prepare it for future operations, and to keep up a somewhat extended correspondence with different parts of the state. Nevertheless, the cause has gone forward beyond our most sanguine expectations.

At the time of our organization, the committee knew of but four newspapers in Ohio at all inclined to advocate the cause. Now there are two devoted exclusively to its interests, eight others decidedly favorable, and others (number unknown) that will publish 'by request.'

Although the Seceders, Covenanters, and Friends, had previously taken right ground on the subject of slavery, yet, up to the date of our society, we knew of no ecclesiastical body in Ohio, (the Presbytery of Chillicothe excepted) which had borne consistent testimony against slave-holding oppression. During the year, two out of three of the Synods of the Presbyterian church, have passed strong anti-slavery resolutions —one by an unanimous vote, and the other by a large majority. Petitions to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and to our own state legislature for the repeal of our 'black laws,' were extensively signed. Female members of the Presbyterian church have circulated petitions to the General Assembly on the subject; and we trust they have been generally signed.

One year ago, there were about twenty anti-slavery societies in Ohio. We have now on our list, one hundred and twenty regularly organized associations: [see App.] the lar-

gest of these contains nine hundred and forty-two members, several of them have from two to five hundred, some from twenty to forty, one of eleven—the majority range from forty to one hundred. The whole number is conjectural:—many societies have failed to report, and some of these we set down as they were at the time of their organization, and of others we know only what is shown in the Appendix. We think the aggregate will not vary much from ten thousand.

We regret that the reports from the local societies have been so imperfect. Some of them are full of interest; and they all go to show that the subject of abolition has taken hold of the public mind with a firm grasp—that the improvement of the moral condition of the people of color is being attended to—that the prayer meetings for the abolition of slavery are kept up with interest—that the opposition in some places is less violent,—and that the public mind in many places is assuming an attitude much more favorable to the reception of truth than formerly. Indeed, the committee cannot but feel, if the bone and sinew of the nation, (the yeomanry of the country,) can be persuaded to read, think and listen, with regard to the great question at issue, and divest their minds of the prejudices so sedulously planted and nourished by the aristocracy of the cities and great towns, that we shall soon see the majesty of the law restored, and our country rescued from impending ruin. It is almost an uniform fact, in the experience of the agents who have labored in this state, that wherever a community has heard with candor, they have laid by their prejudices, and assented to the principles as examined. It has been likewise observed, that the opposition which has manifested itself in mobs, public meetings, and neglect of lectures, has grown out of misapprehension either of the *designs* or *tendencies* of abolition movements.

The committee acknowlege the obligations of this, to the parent society, for the valuable services of Theodore D. Weld, who labored for a year amongst us; and also for those of Messrs. Thome, Allen, Alvord, Streeter, and Wattles, who have been engaged in lecturing in the northern and eastern parts of the state during the winter.

It might seem invidious to mention by name, local friends, who have devoted themselves to this work.

Nearly all who have identified themselves with the cause, are emphatically working men, and have shown by their labors and their prayers, that they feel the force of the injunction, 'Work while the day lasts;'—nevertheless, we feel constrained to *say*, what every heart must *feel*, that the sacrifices

and labors of our co-worker and brother James G. Birney, and the influence of the 'Philanthropist,' have been, under God, of essential service to the cause.

We would also record the pleasing fact, that it has been greatly advanced by female influence and effort. One female society employed an agent at their own expense, and sent him through their whole county lecturing and organizing societies.

The wide circulation given to anti-slavery publications generally, has served to excite the public mind and arouse from their guilty slumber the people of Ohio. The precise number of such publications circulated, we cannot report. Some societies take but few: generally, however, the number is considerable; in some small societies from fifty to three hundred per month, are regularly received.

Nor can the committee state the amount of funds contributed during the year, for the general cause: this only we know, —one society raised over $700—several others from $100 to $200—and all more or less; which sums have been given to the parent society and the schools, or expended for papers, books, &c. &c.

With regard to the influence which our operations have produced on slavery, we would express the hope that it is felt —sensibly felt—not by the slave in the increased rigor of his bondage, but by the master. Our contiguity to Virginia and Kentucky, and the constant and extensive intercourse which exists between us, renders it absolutely impossible that they should long be unaffected, when once public opinion becomes rectified in Ohio. We have no hesitation in saying that in Western Virginia and Kentucky, the question is being discussed with more probability of arriving at just and practical conclusions than ever before.

In view of the character and amount of opposition we have had to encounter, we feel that there is great cause for rendering praise to God, for the success with which he has been pleased to crown our feeble efforts. To Him alone, belongs all the glory.

Everywhere, the friends of this cause have been obliged to contend, more or less, with prejudice, ignorance, hatred, and all the unholy passions of depraved human nature—with principalities and powers—with noble and ignoble.

Impediments of almost every description have been thrown in our way. To make them effectual, there has been not unfrequently an union of effort on the part of men professing to be christians, and such as are avowedly irreligious in life and profession.

The use of the newspaper press, on any terms, has generally been denied; houses of worship have been shut against us; and a general system of proscription and intimidation employed. The most insulting and injurious epithets are applied to us; and an uniform, vigilant, plan of misrepresentation kept up. Leading men, in private and in public meetings, have endorsed the slander of the day: people are taught to regard rebuke of sin, as censoriousness;—God's condemnation of oppression, denunciation;—pleading for the universal adoption of the golden rule, fanaticism;—urging the truths of our political creed, incendiarism;—and the exercise of constitutional rights, treason.

We advert to these things, not as matter of complaint, for we remember—'Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake,'—but to show the character of the opposition, which—whether it come from men high in power and counted honorable, or from the most obscure of the rabble—has in most cases assumed a ferociousness of character, disreputable and painful in the extreme.

There are several topics connected with the cause which the committee forbear to touch upon, because they expect special reports from others.

We have also forborne to dwell on the subject of slavery itself—not that we feel less for the wrongs and sufferings of the poor captives,—God forbid! Their cry comes to us on every breeze, piercing our hearts with many sorrows: and we must cease to feel, our hearts must become callous, we must forget the worth of the immortal soul, and lose *all* sense of moral right and religious duty, before we can cease to plead their cause, or put forth our efforts to rescue them from the hands of the oppressor.

We feel no disposition to lessen our labors in behalf of the slave: on the contrary, their cause has become our own—completely identified: 'tis the cause of liberty to both. We have been unconsciously living down the principles of freedom. We have been cherishing the principles of aristocracy and oppression, not alone at the south, but here, in Ohio; and it is well if they have not attained such strength, as to set at defiance all attempts to re-establish the true principles of man's inalienable rights.

Instead, therefore, of laboring in a work of pure benevolence, as involving only the interests of others; we labor for ourselves also and for our children, and we feel that *freedom to the slave or slavery to the free*, are the only alternatives.

Liberty and Slavery grow not on the same soil: in the very nature of things they cannot exist together. The issue is now made up; the trial is already commenced; on the decision of which hangs, not the liberties of two and a half millions of slaves only, but the liberties of us all,—not the eternal well being of the poor benighted bondman only, but the prosperity of Zion universally. While we dare not doubt the result, we feel that the conflict is to be sore. Time, money, talents, must all be consecrated to the work. Ease, worldly honors and reputation, must be sacrificed. All that the world holds dear, even life itself, must be periled (if need be) in this holy cause.

In our progress thus far, we have unequivocal evidence of God's favor: amidst storms and tempests, he has preserved us. Though the rage of our enemies has well nigh consumed us, yet He has been our strong tower and rock of defence. He has been our present help in every time of trouble; and from every danger he has delivered us.

After so many and signal manifestations of his pleasure —after experiencing so remarkably that the path of duty is the path of safety,—we should dishonor God, did we entertain a doubt as to the final triumph of our cause, or indulge a wish to retire from the contest. We say, therefore, to our brethren,—Gird yourselves anew for the combat—put on the whole armor of that God in whom is our strength—seek the guidance of his holy spirit:—let a mighty cloud of incense go up continually in prayer for the oppressed and the oppressor:—reason, rebuke, reprove, exhort and entreat, with the kind spirit of our blessed Redeemer:—pity the ignorant—bear with the froward and perverse—avoid anger—take with patience, insult and injury—and with joy, the spoiling of your goods:—but press home the truth of God upon the hearts and consciences of your fellow-men:——and though the struggle may be prolonged—though many may finish their course, and go home to glory, before the final consummation of our hopes—yet the work *shall* be accomplished—the final deliverance cometh;—and many of us may live to hear the shouts of jubilee and the songs of freedom, which shall echo from valley to valley, and from mountain to mountain—saying with loud and joyous acclamation,—'*Every* yoke is broken: *all* the oppressed are free.'

TREASURER'S REPORT.

NO. 2.

Ohio Anti-Slavery Society in account with Albert G. Allen.

Dr.

1835.			
June 15	Paid for Secretary and Treasurer's book,		$ 1 50
" 19	" " Postage,		19
" 26	" " Printing proceedings of Convention, and paper for the same,		200 53
	" " Transportation from New York,		15 11
	" " Postage cor. sec., per bill,		10 00
			227 33

Cr.

1835.		
April 24	Cash collected at Convention,	$ 61 64
" 29	" H. C. Howells,	5 00
" 30	" W. F. Hunt,	2 00
May 2	" Robert Stewart, by Mr. Gillespie,	2 00
" "	" James Stewart,	3 00
June 13	" Mr. Baer, by A. A. Guthrie,	2 00
Nov. 17	" Elyria Anti-Slavery Society,	33 00
Dec. 21	" Sales of Reports,	24 00
1836.		
Jan. 1	" Mr. Rutherford's church, Ross co.,	2 80
" "	" Sales of Reports,	5 20
" 7	" do. do.	18 00
" 21	" do. do.	1 00
" 23	" Circleville Anti-Slavery Society,	5 00
Feb. 26	" Sales of Reports,	1 31
March 12	" do. do.	2 00
April 20	" do. do. H. Nye's ac't,	13 13
	Balance to new account,	45 45
		226 53
April 26, 1836,	Dr. to balance,	$ 45 45

E. E. Putnam, Ohio, April 26, 1836.

ALBERT G. ALLEN, *Treasurer.*

We certify that we have examined the above account, and the same is correct,—

A. A. GUTHRIE, LEVI WHIPPLE, } *Auditors.*

ADDRESS TO THE LADIES OF OHIO.

NO. 3.

SISTERS OF OHIO!—

Suffer your brethren to appeal to you for aid. We are engaged in a glorious work—but it is also an arduous one; and we realize that 'it is not good for man to be *alone*' in toiling for God.

In other kindred enterprises, in which we have been called to embark, we have felt the benefits of your sustaining influence; and we have no desire to be deprived of them in our present labors of love.

We need *your* aid—your sanction—your interests and prayers—your wakeful concern—your heart-beating sympathies—the encouragement of your unwavering faith—the example of your 'patience in tribulation'—your hand beckoning us onward to duty—and your voice cheering us, amid persecutions, to fresh effort in behalf of perishing humanity.

We need your aid—we need it greatly—we need it now. Permit us, therefore, to lay before you the *claims* of our cause upon you, as mothers and daughters, as sisters and wives.

But on the threshhold of this work, we find ourselves surrounded by a sentiment, as corrupt as it is prevalent, which denies the *primary duties and responsibilities of woman;* and hence renders it necessary for us to preface our present communication to you with the enforcing of certain principles, which should have been received as first truths.

It is broadly insinuated—nay, it is boldly declared—by those in high places, and echoed by the press—that woman has no duties of a public nature—no part to act in the great moral movements of the day—no *privilege* to be interested in benevolent enterprises, which may excite the wicked—no right to exert an active influence for the cessation of cruelty and the promotion of peace, purity and love. If such sentiments as these are not yet embodied into a theory, and taught, by system, in our pulpits and seminaries,—they are at least so far popular, that they can be uttered without exciting indignation; and so generally credited, that their fallacy has to be proved.

A *sphere* is arrogantly assigned to woman, narrowed down to the circle of the parlor, or measured by the circumference of her spinning-wheel; and if she venture for a moment to turn aside from her very *serviceable* concernment with *domes-*

ric cares, she is branded with every ungenerous and abusive epithet, and bid back to her *proper sphere*.

We cannot away with the ferocious spirit of presumtuous superiority, in which sentiments so degrading to the dignity, and so libellous upon the influence of woman, originate. We must ever rebuke that selfish exclusiveness, which—arrogating to man the peculiar endowments of intellect and heart—designates every exercise of the same on the part of woman, as impertinent and assuming; which frowns upon her noble efforts to elevate and happify the world, and strives, by ridicule, inuendoes, taunts and abuse, to re-plunge her into the insignificancy in which Despotism has always held her. We have no sympathy with such sentiments—no congeniality with such a spirit. The former are as far from the dictates of humanity and the councils of courtesy, as is the latter from the genius of christianity and the spirit of liberty.

In utter opposition to these monstrous and oppressive views, we hold that it is 'the chief end' of woman as well as 'of man to glorify God'—that it is her duty to contribute to the general happiness of mankind—that she is bound to be active in furthering every moral enterprize which promotes the common welfare—that it is her duty, therefore, to inquire into the merits of every such cause, which is before the public mind.

Here is woman's sphere! Her duties consist no more of *domestic cares*, than man's duties consist of his merchandize, his professional, mechanical, and other business pursuits. These all are but parts of that humble machinery which supports our humble bodies. There are more worthy cares, more elevating employments, more ennobling duties, growing out of our sublime relations to God and our fellow-man, and also springing up from our own immortality, which should enlist the energies of both woman and man. To deny these responsibilities to woman, while we impose, with scrupulous exactness, *domestic duties*,—is to sacrifice the *rational* to the *animal* part of woman. And furthermore: as the pursuit of these high duties comprises the *peculiar happiness* of intelligent beings, consequently, the act which cuts off *one half* of the rational creation from participating in these duties, dries up all the springs of their *rational* enjoyments. Whether this injustice has not been virtually perpetrated upon *woman*, is a question of solemn import. That it is committed in those countries where woman is made a *drudge*, no one doubts; and we would submit—whether it is not as effectually, if not so grossly, perpetrated in *our* country, by that odious sentiment which makes her a *painted puppet or a gilded butterfly*?

Whether woman be yoked to labor with the ox, or screened from the sun and sheltered from the wind; whether she be driven into the kitchen, or installed in the parlor; whether she stand behind the lord's chair to serve him at table, or be elevated herself to the most honorable seat; whether she be cooped up with the poultry in the back yard, or caged with 'birds of paradise,' and hung up in the bow window, to attract the gaze of passers-by with the splendor of her plumage and the sweetness of her notes;—in a word, whether she be made on the one hand a mere *subservient* to the *purposes and pleasures* of man, or on the other the *passive recipient* of the *favors* of man, *in either situation*,—she may be effectually robbed of her rights and happiness as *woman*. How, then, shall we be able to estimate the wrong which is done to woman, and through her to mankind, by those who, under pretext of releasing her from laborious duties, would shut her out forever from the glorious fields of moral and benevolent enterprize!

But to drop the consideration of such humiliating sentiments—for the existence of which human nature deserves a blush—we would remark, that it is matter of doubt whether the most well designing have recognized the full amount of female influence and responsibilities. God evidently intended that woman should exert an immense control, for which a knowledge of the condition and wants of the world and great freedom of action, can alone qualify her. Such design is evident, both from her *nature* and her *relation to the world*. Her constitutional susceptibilities—her sympathies—her yearnings of compassion—her enlargedness of benevolence—and her generous disinterestedness,—are the *finger of God* pointing her out as the guardian angel of the world's hopes, whose ever active wing should hover over the woes of mankind, and whose wakeful eye should pierce into the *sources* of human misery.

Nor do the evidences of woman's high design appear alone in the superior sympathies of her nature, fitting her to administer to *bodily* sufferings. She has other peculiarities, either of nature or situation, or both, which fit her for the discharge of other important duties. We would particularly refer to her *purity of principle*—the result, it may be, of her removedness from the contaminations of worldly policy—her *delicate sense of right*—her fearlessness of purpose to do duty—and her confiding trust of consequences to God. How could she be more clearly designated, than by such characteristics, as God's agent in the world to rebuke sin, and urge the

sinner to *immediate repentance?* Hence we discover that in every age of the church, God has distinguished woman. Females have always composed a large majority of professing christians; and it would not be unsafe to say, that they have embodied a large amount of the vital piety of the church. Indeed it would appear to be a *prominent feature* in the divine plan for the recovery of our race, to secure the *agency of woman.* This is at once an evidence of the weight of female influence, and an indication of God's will that man should enlist that influence in every benevolent cause in which he himself is engaged.

Negligence on this point in the leaders of moral movements, is therefore most serious, if not fatal. What, then, must be the folly of those who, in relation to female influence, are not only *indifferent,* but *sceptical* and even *contemptuous!*

But if woman's natural endowments of heart eminently qualify her for benevolent effort, how much more of unalienable influence for weal or woe is intrusted to her as the *mother of mankind.* She stands at the very *fountain head* of existence, and gives direction and character to the streams which issue from it, and flow, widening and deepening, through eternity. What an attitude of responsibility! Such woman, is *yours!* O see how the world's hopes are anchored in *you!* See mankind's character brought and *laid at your feet,* to receive its first and most permanent impress! What bribe will induce you — Delilah-like — to betray *such trusts!*

It is with these views, Ladies of Ohio, of your duties and influence generally, that we come now to lay before you the subject of American Slavery. This, you are aware, has become an absorbing topic in our state and country. It is a question full of interest. Yet by common consent, it has been regarded as wholly without the sphere of your influence. We are aware, too, that you have generally acquiesced in this judgment — deeming the slavery of the southern states to be a subject in which you could *justly* feel no concern whatever.

You have doubtless been influenced in forming this opinion, by what *appeared* to be weighty reasons.

Among these reasons we presume has been the commonly received idea, that it is improper for *any* of the inhabitants of the free states to interfere with slavery, as it is a system pertaining to other and independent states. You have therefore felt it your duty to stand aloof from a subject, which was interdicted even to your fathers and your brothers. The fallacy of the notion, from which you draw this inference, is now

increasingly seen and acknowledged. Men in the free states are beginning to enlist in the work, not only without any scruple, but with the deepest sense of obligation. We would therefore very confidently urge you to consider again—if you have *ever* investigated this matter—whether the mere fact that a particular sin exists in a neighboring state or country from that in which *you* live—releases you from all obligation to oppose that sin! If it does not release man, it certainly cannot release woman.

Again: you have been accustomed, in common with most others, to view slavery as a *political* subject, which you could not, with any degree of propriety, meddle with.

When we consider the course which has been pursued by ministers and the church generally, the silence they have preserved, their careful avoidance of the whole subject in their prayers and public ministrations, and their closing the pulpits and churches against all discussions of the question,—we are not surprised that *you* should have entertained the idea that slavery is a political matter.

It is a principal object, permit us to say, of this address, to lay before you such details as will, we trust, convince you that slavery has other bearings beside those that are political—bearings which commend it peculiarly to *your* attention.

To these details we now call your attention, simply remarking, that they relate to those *dreadful effects* of slavery, which appeal with peculiar force to the sympathies of woman.

1. In the first place, we would allude to that *awful sense of insecurity* which pervades slave-holding families. This is an *evil spirit* which must ever haunt the dwellings of slave-holders. They are conscious 'that 'their enemies are they of their own household.' They know, too, that they are exposed, and that hourly, to danger from a thousand points against which it is impossible to fortify themselves. They may be poisoned through their food or drink—they may be strangled in their beds—their brains may be dashed out on the field by an unexpected blow from some desperate man, whose next act may be to kill himself—they may be dragged from their tables, from their fire-sides, or from the family-altar itself—or their houses may be fired at midnight, and themselves butchered as they fly from the flames.

Such things, they know, *may* take place at any moment. That they have not occurred hitherto, or lately, affords no assurance that they will not burst forth in an hour. The consequence is, that dreadful state of insecurity already alluded to. A man can scarcely be absent a night, without providing

a friend to sleep in his house as a *guard* to his wife and children. Mr. Randolph — himself a slave-holder — declared that 'every master was a sentinel at his own door.'

A whole village may at any time, upon the slightest suspicion or alarm, be thrown into the wildest consternation — presenting a scene which would beggar description. Men hurrying to and fro, seizing in their frenzy, clubs, stones, butcher-knives, hoes and axes — women flying through the streets with their infants in their arms, or crowded, half naked, with their little ones, in a ware-house or church. From every quarter may be heard screams of terror, implorings of mercy, mingled prayers and curses, cries of 'insurrection, murder, to arms, to arms!' — and all that confusion which arises from fright and defencelessness. Such things not unfrequently occur!

The following graphic description of one of these scenes — that which followed upon the Southampton massacre — is given by Mr. McDowell of the Virginia legislature. Replying to one who had called that insurrection a 'petty affair,' he asks, 'Was that a "petty affair" which drove families from their homes, which assembled women and children, in crowds, and without shelter, at places of common refuge, in every condition of weakness and infirmity? which barred every door, penetrated every bosom with fear or suspicion, which so banished all sense of security from every man's dwelling, that let but a hoof or a horn break upon the silence of the night, and an aching throb would be driven to the heart: — the husband would look to his weapon, and the mother would shudder and weep over her cradle.'

The same gentleman testifies that this dreadful condition of things was not confined merely to the neighborhood of Southampton; but that it grows out of causes, which make it both *general* and *permanent*. 'Was it the fear,' he asks, 'of Nat Turner, and his deluded, drunken, handful of followers, which produced such effects? Was it this that induced *distant countries*, where the very name of Southampton was strange, to arm and equip for a struggle? No, sir: it was the *suspicion* incessantly exercised toward the *slave everywhere* — the *suspicion* that a Nat Turner might be in every family, that the same bloody deed could be acted over *at any time* and *at any place*. Yes: it is the *withering apprehension* which every slave-holder in this land carries in his *own conscience*, that the slaves have been *outraged, insulted and wronged, which makes the sound in his ears!*'

Such is a picture of the domestic state of slave-holding families! Let us now inquire, sisters, is this no concern of yours?

Is *this* a *political* matter? Should it not interest you to know that a system exists which banishes *tranquillity* from the bosom of the family? Who *will* be interested in such a fact, if you are not? Who *ought* to be?

Your voice should be heard the loudest and the first in defence of that domestic peace which it is your peculiar province to secure. God expects it of you—nay, more: God and the perishing hopes of the world *demand* that you direct your influence against every system which dares to invade the repose of the family-circle. You cannot *throw off* this responsibility—will you *shrink from* it?

2. We would next refer to the horrid influence of slavery upon the *disposition* and general character of those who maintain the system. It is a certain truth, that the habitual exercise of arbitrary power begets a ferocious temper, and converts even the most amiable into monsters of ungovernable passion. The testimony of philosophers, statesmen, sages and slave-holders, is uniform on this point; and their testimony is abundantly established by facts. Did we have ground, either in reason or observation, to believe that women escaped these distortions, there would be less propriety in soliciting the co-operation of ladies. But alas! it is too sadly true, that if woman will become a slave-holder, she must consent to sacrifice all the tenderness of her nature. The following fact, which, though it relates to West India slavery, is no less applicable to American slavery, will serve to illustrate the tendencies of slave-holding upon woman's character:

It was related by a clergyman—formerly of England—now residing in this country.

A lady, now in the West Indies, was sent in her infancy to her friends near Belfast, in Ireland, for education. She remained under their charge from five to fifteen years of age, and grew up everything which her friends could wish. At fifteen, she returned to the West Indies—was married there—and after some years paid her friends near Belfast a second visit. Toward white people she was the same elegant and interesting child as before;—appeared full of every virtuous and tender feeling. But towards the colored people *she was like a tigress.* If Wilberforce's name was mentioned, she would say, "Oh, I wish we had that wretch in the West Indies, I would be one of the first to help to tear his heart out." And then she would tell of the manner in which the West India ladies used to treat their slaves. "I have often," she said, "when my women have displeased me, *snatched their babes* from their arms, and running with them to the well, have

tied my shawl around their shoulders, and pretended to be drowning them. Oh, it was so *ridiculous* to hear the mothers scream!"—and then she would laugh almost convulsively at the recollection.'

What is that which could thus pervert all the native sensibilities of a delicate young lady, transforming her into a 'tigress'—what is that but a detestable system? Suffer us then to remind you, that a large and interesting portion of your sex, in your own country, are exposed this day to all the horrid distortions of such a system.

And now do you ask, 'how does this concern us?' Does it not appeal directly to you? The slanderer, who blackens your reputation, does not pass your tribunal with impunity. The drunkard, who breaks up the peace of his family, and drives his wife and children from their home, is denounced by *you*. *Your* voice of reprobation is raised against the seducer, because he conspires against your virtue.

But here is a demon, who withers by his touch *all the peculiar graces of woman*, and transforms her into—what shall we say? Look and answer. See where this demon has left his mark. If we groupe together a few out of the ten thousand hideous attitudes into which it has thrown woman, what a shocking scene of deformity does it not present to the view! There, in one part of the picture, is woman, with a *cow-hide* in her hands, and plying it on the naked back of a slave!—There, hard by, is woman, with her hair dishevelled and rage depicted on every feature, stamping upon a prostrate WOMAN!—There also is woman, pursuing, *club in hand*, an affrighted girl, who flies from her oft experienced wrath!—There too, is woman, swelling with the fiercest passion, storming, threatening, cursing, and calling down death, and even damnation, upon the victim who escapes from her hands!—There, again, is woman standing by, while her husband is scourging the naked body of her servant girl, and instead of beseeching him to have mercy, she cheers him on, and responds to every blow of his, with a kick on the head of the poor sufferer!—[A fact.] In another part of the picture is a woman pinching her servant's nose with red-hot tongs!—[Another fact.] But, darkest of all this dark picture, there is woman *selling* woman—*mother selling mother*—*wife selling wife*—woman herself pandering, *with her own hands*, all the ties of nature, to gratify revenge or procure money!

Sisters, do not turn away from this sight, saying it is too shocking to look at. Were it a fancy picture, it would indeed be wrong—unpardonable wrong—to harrow up your feel-

ings by presenting it before you. But alas! it is fact—fact, did we say—it is only a dim shadow of the dread reality which is daily acting out in our own country.

And yet shall we be told that the ladies of the free states have no interest in such things as these? Are you to be informed, sisters of Ohio, that you have *no right to feel* in view of a system which is virtually forced, by man, upon your sisters at the south, and is now rioting upon their choicest virtues? Are you to be told that it is improper for you to speak for the dignity of your sex, and to proclaim your abhorrence of a practice, which, by its horrid distortions of female character, makes the very *name* of woman a reproach? And will you *believe* it, and will you tremble at the insolent demand to *keep your place*, and shrink away into silence until your sex becomes the laughing-stock of men, and the disgrace of human nature?

God forbid! We place these responsibilities before you, and we trust that you will not be deterred from meeting them by all the frowns and menaces of an unhallowed public sentiment.

3. But that feature in the slave system which appeals most strongly to female sympathy, is the *ruin of family relations among the slaves.* Slavery, by its laws, as well as in its practice, abrogates marriage, separates, at the pleasure of the master, those united by heaven-created ties, and tramples upon the most sacred attachments of social life. It is a fact for woman to note, that slavery is the *only system in the world* which annihilates the family institution. Despotism, which withholds civil rights and imposes many grievous burthens, almost uniformly leaves its victims their domestic enjoyments. Even War, ruthless as *he* is, with his front of blood, and his trooping legions of furies, *falters* as he lifts his battle-ax against the door that locks in the mother and her trembling babes. There is a sacredness in the *idea of family*, which throws its restraining and abashing influences around even these relentless foes of mankind. But slavery submits to no restraints. This monster has no heart.

Where other systems stop, appalled and disarmed, Slavery starts with fresh ferocity. After robbing man of all legal protection, denying him his wages, scourging his body and blighting his mind, it pushes on its ravages to the last retreat of human happiness—and scatters the family.

This *peculiar* feature of slavery is its most *horrid* one. O if this system did but leave the *family circle* unbroken, its other outrages, numberless and woful as they are, might be

borne. Yes: the poor victim of oppression may lose, one by one, his civil rights, his property and his personal protection, and yet his spirit can sustain itself, so long as he is surrounded with the sympathies and solaces of his little family.

Yea, he may be driven to the field to labor without recompense, he may be scourged without pity, he may be reviled and buffetted and trampelled upon; but only let him know that there is one little retreat—a cabin or a cave though it be—*where wife and children be*,—only leave him that one humble spot, and he has a refuge, an asylum. But let that little spot be laid waste—and persecuted humanity 'has nowhere to lay its head'—the centre of man's hopes is gone—the elements of his earthly happiness are destroyed. We wish it to be distinctly understood that we are not now indulging in a sickly sentimentality. We regard these as truths, viz.—that the *centre* of earthly bliss *lies within the family circle*—that no form of evil, which does not reach that centre, can wholly destroy human peace—and lastly, that when the family circle is invaded and broken up, social happiness has received its death-stab! Now this is the very ruin which slavery effects. It destroys the family relations. It robs its victim of every personal right, and then denies to him this single spot to rest his weary foot upon. It drives human happiness from one strong hold to another, till it seeks a last refuge in the heart, and there *kills it!*

Ye, ladies, that know, better than we can describe them, the nameless joys which cluster about the family, do you see these *ravages of the family?* Do you see this only monster that dares to invade the *family*, and do you see how he exalteth himself in that hallowed place, making the family room his presence chamber, the very altar itself of family devotions his throne, and the domestic fire-side the scene of his most atrocious cruelties? Yes, sisters, you know these things, and now we earnestly inquire, What shall be done? Who shall act in this emergency? Who is the heaven-appointed guardian of the fire-side? It is woman; and sisters, the call is to *you*. The family altar has been invaded, the hearth stone is desolate, the innocent ones are scattered. Broken affections, sundered ties, and bleeding heart-strings are around you. Millions, with their voiceless eloquence, are appealing to your sympathies. Hear a bereaved mother——

'White Lady, happy, proud and free,
Lend a listening ear to me:
Let a negro-mother's wail,
Turn thy pale cheek still more pale.
Can a negro-mother joy
Over this her captive boy
Which in bondage and in tears
For a life of woe, she rears?
——Though she bears a mother's *name*,
A mother's rights she may not claim,
For the white man's will can part
Her darling from her bursting heart.'——

Can *mothers* be deaf to such an appeal? Sisters, can you be persuaded that wrongs and sufferings like these, which cut around the whole circle of family bliss, are of no manner of interest to you? In the name of humanity, what have you a right to be interested in? Has it come to this, that you must see wives torn from their husbands, and mothers from their children, and yet be *forbidden* to sympathize, or *abused* for expressing your abhorrence of these enormities? Must you quell the heaving emotion, and rebuke feeling, and dry up the tear, and keep down nature, and *bury womanhood;* lest, by following their warm dictates, you should leave *your proper sphere?*

When, aroused by the wail of sundered families, all others are beginning to start from their insensibility—when the tides of feeling are rolling toward the oppressed—when the civilized world is moving from its lowest foundation, quickened by the mighty impulse—when insulted liberty and profaned religion join heart and voice and hand against their common foe—and when *man* is stirring himself up to an unflinching conflict with this Demon of the Pit,—shall *woman* be still? Shall she be deaf to the cries which are summoning forth the sympathies of the sterner sex?

Then, indeed, will she have *deserted her peculiar sphere!* Then will she have forgotten to be woman, and have forfeited all claim to the title of sister, mother, wife!——

But we have not yet done with the reasons which should induce you to enlist in our present undertaking. A regard for your patience will not suffer us to dwell at length upon other reasons. We will only say that slavery forces itself upon your consideration, from the fact that it brings its heaviest plagues upon your sex—driving woman to the field, exposing her in every condition of weakness to inclemencies of weather and rigorous treatment, reducing her to the condition of a beast of burthen, and leaving her person the defenceless prey of every brutal man. The whole sex is inevitably in-

volved in the disgrace which is thus brought upon one portion of it; and this leads us to say that slavery is a subject *full* of interest to you, because the evil is not confined to the enslaved and the enslaver; but spreads its poison over the whole country—affecting most seriously the interests of woman.

Wherever despotism has prevailed, woman has been degraded. The spirit of oppression is essentially hostile to woman, its constituent principle being that 'the strong should rule the weak.' And now, sisters, mark our word—your sex never can be elevated to its true dignity and to the enjoyment of its dearest rights, in any part of our country, so long as slavery, which embodies this corrupt principle, exists among us.

Furthermore: this is a question of vital interest to you, because slavery itself must extend beyond the colored race. A spirit so ferocious as that of slavery, will not long be satisfied with making the black man its prey. *Color* is but a feeble barrier, and who can tell how long ere it will be broken down? And then—ah then—you, we, our children, may be numbered among the victims of oppression. Our families will then be scattered, and we may lift up our unavailing cry for mercy. Who can trust the spirit of slavery? The monster who will tear a sable mother from her children, and then mock her *childless woe*, only waits the power to break into *your* house, and snatch your little ones from you. And remember, the spirit of slavery is spreading with alarming rapidity, insomuch that thousands of hearts begin to tremble in apprehension of the rueful day when slavery may plant its roots deep *in our own soil.* Beware then, mothers, and *act in time!*

Lastly: it is reason enough why *you* should be interested in the cause of anti-slavery, that it is pre-eminently a cause of benevolence and mercy. It is *not* a political question—it is a religious question. It is not a fanatical crusade—it is an enterprise full of justice and humanity. It is the cause of peace and purity, of kindness and brotherly love. The oppressed are waiting for the results of our efforts, and as they feel the iron of their bondage, they ask us, *'how long?'*

The God of the oppressed is looking solicitously down, and while his parental heart is rent with anguish for his enslaved children, he graciously affords us a short space for effort. *Soon* he must terminate our privilege and their bondage, with the strong arm of his wrath! The slave *must be free;* but unless we unite in the most vigorous action, the oppressor will be

destroyed, and *we for our unfaithfulness will be involved in his punishment.*

At such a time as this, when perils thicken about our path —when the hopes of the slave, *our* liberties, the destiny of our children, our nation's existence, and the cause of freedom throughout the world, are all at stake— sisters, at such a time as this, where will you be found? Shrinking? Cowering? Aloof?—Or will you not rather wake up your slumbering influence and enlist in the cause of righteousness?

Do you ask what can *we* do to further the cause of immediate emancipation? Hear a few suggestions from us. The following items we would urge upon you to consider with deep deliberation:

1. You can petition Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Your voice ought to be heard on this question. It is due to your sex that our government, which professes such regard for the rights and dignity of woman, should no longer tolerate at its very seat a system which is more degrading to woman than Heathenism, and more insulting than Despotism.

2. You can aid in the dissemination of truth, by circulating papers, tracts, pamphlets, &c., besides also contributing to the support of agents.

3. You can write in behalf of the oppressed. There is more than one woman, in this country, who has done honor to her sex by her writings on this subject. It devolves upon you to keep the public attention turned toward those bearings of the question, which affect your sex and domestic relations in general. Who so well fitted to present these views of the subject as woman? Who can dwell upon them so feelingly —who can tell the story of woman's suffering, as mother, wife, daughter, sister, so affectingly as woman?

4. You can contribute to the encouragement of colored schools. Efforts are now making, on a very extensive scale, to instruct the people of color in this state, especially those living in the villages and cities. Young ladies and gentlemen are already engaged in the work of instruction, with great success in Cincinnati and elsewhere. In Cincinnati, three young ladies of liberal education, qualified to superintend the first rank of female academies, have been thus employed for two years in co operation with several gentlemen. The improvement which they have wrought among the colored people of that city, is quite manifest. While, therefore, there are those, even of your own sex, who are willing to sacrifice personal ease, and devote *themselves*, amid neglect and contempt,

to the elevation of the down-cast and down-trodden free people of color, it will be but rational to expect that you will share in the *pecuniary* sacrifices necessary to sustain these self-denying missionaries.

We would earnestly commend this department of the cause to your patronage and prayers. The victims of our own prejudice and neglect, surely have a claim upon *us* for their elevation; and it should never be lost sight of, that the improvement of the free colored people will operate powerfully upon the cause of emancipation, by demonstrating that the colored man is *susceptible* of cultivation.

5. You can labor among your female friends—taking as large a circuit as your leisure, or rather your *other duties*, will permit—and thus you may extend all around you the spirit of hostility to slavery. You will not need eloquence or 'much learning,' in order to accomplish this end.

The story of the poor slave is simple and short—just a recital of ruined hopes, and sundered ties, and broken hearts—and surely no one can tell this story better than woman. By a course of visiting and faithful conversation, a single woman may be instrumental in forming a Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society in the neighborhood.

6. You can exert a mighty influence over all who belong to your own families. Your husbands will often hear the truth from you, when they would close their ears, and house, against a lecturer, or burn up an anti-slavery paper. You may also induce them to attend anti-slavery meetings by going yourselves.

Over your *children* your influence will be still greater. Indeed you must, in a great measure, stand responsible for the opinions they entertain and the course they take on this question. Who are more chargeable *than mothers* with the present state of public sentiment, on the subject of slavery, in Ohio? Who are responsible to the extent to which *they* are, for the wicked and oppressive prejudice against *color*—for the hatred of the negro, both free and bond—for the prevailing indifference as to the *sinfulness* of slavery—for the bitter opposition to emancipation, which manifests itself in abstaining from discussion, holding pro-slavery meetings, and raising mobs? The truth is too palpable to be mistaken. The sons of Ohio, and the other *free states, have not been taught by their mothers to abhor slavery*—nay, they *have been* taught to sympathize with the oppressor, and to regard the slave in a better condition than he *could* enjoy, *in this country*, if free.—Mothers, is not this true? Alas, it might have been otherwise!

and now shall it not be otherwise with the coming generation? Let every mother in Ohio bring her children daily around the family altar, and make them vow eternal hatred to slavery. Begin with the first dawn of thought—watch the earliest rise of sympathy—and breathe into the tender soul the story of the suffering slave. That story will never be forgotten. Let hatred of oppression be a part of your children's education, a part of their religion—let it be incorporated into their very being. Then we will no longer see your sons flocking to the south to become slave-holders—they will no longer aspire to the rank of overseers and drivers—nor will they be seen at home mobbing their fellow-citizens who are striving to commence the great reformation. But they will themselves be a generation of abolitionists.

7. You can exert a great influence over slave-holders visiting in your families. There is a vast and increasing intercourse between the north and the south. Slave-holders, with their families, spend the summers at the north. Of course females will come in contact with them unavoidably, in the family, around the table, about the fire-side, and elsewhere. Thus you will have abundant opportunities of conversing with them—showing them the sin of slavery—and urging them to abandon it. Much has been done in this way already, and that too without necessarily violating the laws of courtesy and hospitality. However, in respect of this, as of every other sin, you should be faithful with the sinner, *though he be offended.*

8. If you can do nothing else, you can feel and pray, and thus sustain those who are in the front of the battle. We know that God is with us, and if we only keep humble and prayerful, we doubt not he will give us the victory—*and that soon.* Will not our sisters lay hold of the arm of God?

9. In conclusion, let us say, that by enlisting in the cause of immediate emancipation and identifying with it your name and sex, you will effectually raise it above the contempt and violence of its enemies. The majority of mankind, you are aware, estimate a cause, not according to its real merits, but by the character and standing of its *friends;* and when these are exclusively *men,* however reputable they may be, the cause is regarded as vulgar and base, and is either wholly neglected or contemptuously treated. Anti-slavery principles must have a lodgment in the domestic retreat, as well as in the shops and counting-rooms; and they must find advocates in the parlor, as well as in the court-house and church,

before they will ever receive that consideration which their importance demands.

Sisters! we now have done. Our views are before you. The estimate which we have placed upon your duties and influence is high; but in making it we have not been actuated by a spirit of exaggeration or flattery. It is in accordance with our real sentiments. With what feelings then must we see all your influence arrayed against us? How can we reflect that, by your indifference or opposition, your fathers and husbands and brothers are to continue the enemies of our holy cause? How shall we bear the thought, that contempt and scorn and persecution are to assail us *through your denial of us*, and that mobs will feel countenanced by your standing aloof? Above all, how can we be reconciled to the idea that your children are to be imbued *by you*, with the same prejudice and hostility which their fathers feel toward us?

We could not longer submit to such a state of things, without an effort—without an urgent appeal to your reason and heart—without rolling your responsibilities upon you, and striving to make you feel their weight.

And now, sisters, shall all these things be in vain! No: it cannot be. You will rejoice to labor in a field where your energies can find full scope. You will unlock the treasures of your sympathies, and pour them forth in this cause. You will gird yourselves for a work so glorious, and fraught with the liberty, the happiness, and the hopes of millions. No longer will your ear be deaf to the sound of the lash. No longer will you turn away from sights of blood and mangled females. You will weep over these things, and you will speak of them in tones of melting pity which will touch other hearts. You will join hands and hearts in this blessed work, and awaken your tenderest and warmest feelings—until the vast tide of your mingled emotions shall heave only for the slave. Nor will you be without your great reward when, as the result of your labors, you shall behold parents, children, brothers, sisters, returning from their dreary separations and rejoicing and weeping in each other's embraces. This will be reward enough, to see the father fall upon the neck of his long-lost son, and the woe-worn mother clasp in her aged arms that daughter who was torn from the same bosom, when yet an infant. And oh, it will be a consummation of your bliss, when these re-united families, locked in a common embrace, point to you as the authors of their happiness, and rise up together to call you blessed.

AN ADDRESS

TO THE CHURCHES IN RELATION TO SLAVERY.

NO. 4.

The duty of the church on the subject of slavery, must be determined by the sacred Scriptures. These are the only infallible rule of faith and practice. The question then arises, Do the Scriptures condemn slavery, as it exists in our country, as a sin? In order to determine this question with the utmost certainty, it is necessary to inquire, whether our slavery is the same kind of servitude authorized in the nation of Israel? That there was a kind of servitude allowed in Israel, must be admitted. That there were both Hebrew and Gentile servants who were distinguished from hired servants, cannot be denied: they were bought with money. The point now to be determined is, was that service voluntary or involuntary? Did these persons sell themselves, and receive an equivalent for their services? or were they stolen and sold by others, and compelled to serve without wages? With regard to the Hebrew servants, the matter is clear. They sold themselves: Lev. xxv. 47. 'And if a sojourner or a stranger was rich by thee, and thy brother that dwelleth by him was poor, and sold himself unto the stranger, he may be redeemed.' This passage shows that poor Hebrews sold themselves for servants, and received an equivalent for their services. The servitude of Hebrew servants, then, was voluntary, and for an equivalent. But did the Gentile servants sell themselves, or did others steal them and sell them? Were they compelled to serve without wages, or did they receive an equivalent for their services? The Israelites were permitted to buy heathen that were round about them, and strangers that lived among them: Lev. xxv. 44, 45. 'Both thy bond-men and thy bond-maids shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possession.' The heathen and the stranger might alike be bought. Both were free, and who, but themselves, could have a right to sell them? The Hebrews were not allowed to steal them: and to buy them from such as had stolen them, would be no better. But none could, without incurring the penalty of

death, steal those who dwelt in the land of Israel. Hence it is evident, that the Hebrews could purchase none but such as sold themselves; and, of course, could hold them to service no longer than the term specified in the purchase. If they might buy those that were stolen, why buy at all? Why not steal them themselves at once, and save their money? The fact that they bought those who lived in the land, when they had power to reduce them to servitude without purchase, shows that the common principles of justice were regarded; so that the servants bought, were bought from themselves, and paid for their services. Perhaps parents who were unable to maintain their children, might sell them for such a term as they had a right to their services. But there is no reason to believe that the Father of the universe ever allowed a parent to sell his own children into slavery for life. And if He did not allow the parent to commit such a crime against natural affection, surely He did not permit his people to encourage such wickedness. If the parent had no right to sell, the Hebrews had no right to purchase. The fact that the Hebrews had to buy their servants, shows that the principles of justice were strictly regarded, and that an equivalent was paid for the service. It may be objected, that it is said, that the children of the Hebrews should have these servants for an inheritance after their parents. To this it may be replied, that in case the parents died before the term of service was up, the children would have a right to the service due to their parents.

Again: It may be said that the servants were to be a possession forever, and that, of course, they must have been property just as slaves are in modern times. To this it may be answered, that if the term forever be taken in a literal sense, it is evident that the same individuals could not be servants forever. And if the term be limited, it is as reasonable to suppose, that it was limited by the contract between the master and servant as by anything else. The passage seems to mean, that the Hebrews might by successive purchase, continually possess that kind of servants, and not, that they might hold the same individuals during life. No contract for service could be valid beyond the Jubilee. At that period all contracts were up, and all servitude was terminated. Liberty must be proclaimed throughout all the land—'unto all the inhabitants thereof.' Lev. xxv. 10.

The interpretation now given of the servitude of the Gentiles among the Israelites, is in accordance with the laws made for the protection of the stranger. 'Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him.' Exod. xxii. 21. 'Thou shalt not

pervert the judgment of the stranger:' Deut. xxiv. 17. 'Thou shalt not oppress a hired servant that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren or of thy strangers that are in thy land within thy gates. At this day thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it, for he is poor, and setteth his heart upon it: lest he cry against thee unto the Lord, and it be sin unto thee:' Deut. xxiv. 14, 15.—Nothing could be a more direct violation of these statutes, than the practice of such slavery as exists in our slave-holding states. Nothing could more vex and oppress the stranger, than to hold him in such bondage. To defraud the stranger of a single day's labor, is set down as a grievous sin: how much more grievous is the sin of taking from him both his liberty and his labor for life!

The servitude in Israel was voluntary, and the servants were paid for their services. They could be held no longer than the term for which they contracted. They had a right to hold property. They differed from hired servants chiefly in the length of the term for which they contracted, and in being adopted into the family of their masters, so as to entitle them to the religious privileges of children. They were circumcised as adopted sons, and had an equal right with the Hebrews to the passover. The standing of the servant in society, was the same with that of his master's family. 'Samuel made Saul and his servant sit in the chiefest place among them that were bidden, which were about thirty persons:' 1 Sam. ix. 22. A hired servant was at liberty to leave his master sooner than the servant bought with money; but in other respects he had fewer privileges. If a master abused his servant so far as to knock out but a single tooth, the servant so injured was free from further service. The servitude in Israel was similar to apprenticeship in our country. An apprentice is bound to service for a number of years; he becomes, for the time, a member of his master's family; he should be treated as his master's children; he is a bond-man, but not a slave; his standing in society is just as good as if he were free; he receives an equivalent for his services; and his master may correct, but not abuse him. All allow that this kind of servitude is just, and that such servants ought to 'count their own masters worthy of all honor.' The bondmen among the Hebrews were not slaves, any more than apprentices in modern times. That interpretation which makes the Scriptures justify slavery, involves a palpable contradiction, and is wholly inconsistent with divine inspiration. This is evident from a variety of considerations.

1. The Scriptures represent all men as having sprung from one common parent—all as 'made of one blood.' Consequently, all are created equally free. Whatever rights the first man had, all his children must have. God created no slaves. He gave to all men the same original rights. One man has just as much right to freedom as another.

2. The Scriptures represent man as being created for the service of God. Happiness, in connection with the glory of his Creator, is represented as being the great end of his existence. With this, slavery is wholly inconsistent.

3. The Scriptures enjoin such duties upon all men as are entirely opposed to slavery. Children are commanded to obey their parents; and parents are commanded to bring up their children 'in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.' All are commanded to keep the Sabbath, and to attend upon the public ordinances of religion. With all these slavery interferes; and indeed, the same is true with respect to every other injunction to the open practice of christian duty. A cruel and wicked master may prevent the slave from discharging any of the common duties of christianity.

4. The Scriptures represent marriage as the common privilege of mankind. 'Marriage is honorable to all:' 'for this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh:' and 'what God hath joined together let no man put asunder.' But slavery annihilates the right of marriage. The master may either prevent the slave from marrying, or separate him from his wife when married. A man may leave his father and his mother, who have a better right to him than any other being can have, and cleave unto his wife; but he may not leave his master for such purpose! How glaring is the absurdity of slavery! The institution of marriage shows that parents have no right to hold their own children beyond mature age, and of course, can have no right to sell them to others beyond that period. Hence it is impossible that slavery should exist without the flagrant violation of justice.

5. The Scriptures represent man as having a right to acquire and hold property in land and in beasts, and as being crowned with glory and honor, and set over the works of God's hands, being made but a little lower than the angels. Such a representation regards the entire family of man, and is strikingly opposed to slavery. All men are set over the works of God's hands, and have an equal right to acquire and hold property; and consequently, man cannot have the right to hold property in his fellow-man.

6. The law of love enjoined by the Scriptures forbids slavery. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself:' 'I say unto you, love your enemies:' 'Do good unto all men:' 'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets.' No man would wish another either to make him a slave, or to hold him in slavery, because he had bought him from one who had no right to sell him; and consequently, no man can hold a slave and at the same time fulfil the law of love. The law of love not only prohibits every species of injury to our fellow-men, but it enjoins the positive doing of good to every human being so far as we have opportunity. That slavery is a positive injury, cannot be intelligently and honestly denied; and therefore it must be opposed to the law of love.

7. The Scriptures expressly call slavery oppression. 'And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigor. And they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick and in all manner of service in the field. And I have also seen the oppression wherewith the Egyptians oppress them:' Exod. i. 13, 14, 39. The Egyptians reduced the Israelites to slavery in two respects. They compelled the males to involuntary service, and gave them no compensation. In these two particulars it was the same kind of slavery that exists in the United States.

The colored people are compelled to involuntary service, and they are not compensated for their services. In other respects the condition of the Hebrews was much better than that of the colored people. The males only were enslaved, and they were not bought and sold, and separated from their families. The cruelty in putting the male children to death, did not equal the cruelty of the domestic slave trade. Upon the whole, the slavery of Egypt was less oppressive than ours. Our slavery, then, is oppression even worse than that endured by Israel in Egypt. It is oppression in the judgment of God, and in the judgment of all honest men; and hence it is forbidden in the Scriptures a thousand times over.

That the Scriptures call slavery oppression, is also evident from Isaiah lviii. 6: 'Is not this the fast I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye brake every yoke?' The Hebrews began to practice slavery like the heathen around them; but God commanded them to let the oppressed slave go free, and thus to brake every yoke. Hence the Scriptures forbid slavery as it exists among us, as often as they forbid oppression; and the Scriptures teach us that the

laborer is worthy of his reward. But in slavery the laborer is not paid for his labor; hence the Scriptures forbid slavery as often as they forbid defrauding the laborer. If to defraud a hired laborer out of a single day's labor is a sin, surely to compel a man to labor during life, and give no wages, must be a thousand fold greater. The fact that the man has been bought from one that had no right to sell him, only aggravates the sin. The severest judgments are denounced against those who defraud the laborer. 'Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth:' James v. 1, 4. This denunciation must lie against slave-holders: the hire is by fraud kept back from slaves.

9. The Scriptures forbid slavery under the heaviest penalty. 'He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, *shall surely be put to death*:' Exod. xxi. 16. The design of stealing a man is to make him a slave. Hence in the judgments of God, to make a man a slave is a crime worthy of death: the very penalty annexed to murder, and stated in still stronger terms—'he shall *surely* be put to death.'

God not only prohibited slavery in Israel under the penalty of death, but he commanded his people to protect every slave that should escape to them from the surrounding nations—'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee: he shall dwell with thee; thou shalt not oppress him:' Deut. xxiii. 15, 16. The heathen nations around Israel were guilty of the sin of slavery; and God's people were prohibited from being partakers of that sin by giving up fugitive slaves. At the peril of war they must protect the slave that escaped to them. To aid the heathen in holding them they had stolen, would be the same in effect as to steal them. Nothing can be more plainly and decidedly forbidden than slavery is in the Old Testament Scriptures. The New Testament recognizes the same prohibition as still in force. Paul says the law was made 'for men-stealers:' 1 Tim. i. 10. The original word rendered men-stealers, includes all who in any way enslave their fellow-men—whether by man-stealing, slave-dealing, or slave-holding. It may be as properly rendered slave-holders, as man-stealers. The crime of man-stealing consists in depriving men of their liberty. This the slave-holder does as certainly and as unjustly, as the man-stealer. The slave has in himself, by the gift of God, the inherent right of liberty: his right is equal to that

of every other man. The fact that he has been brought up in slavery, or that he has been stolen and sold into slavery, cannot in the least affect his title to liberty. Nor can the fact that the state ordains that he shall be a slave, give the least right to hold him. And government is ordained to protect the rights of men, and not to give rights, nor to take them away, except so far as God has permitted for the punishment of crimes against the rights of others. God never gave to civil government the right of making slaves of innocent men. The state, then, has no more right to compel a man to hold a slave, than it has to compel a man to commit murder. There is then, no possible source from which the slave-holder can obtain the right to hold a slave; and consequently he is guilty of taking away the inherent rights of his fellow-man, and is guilty of the very sin forbidden in the law against man-stealing.

It is often said that we ought to leave slavery just where Christ and his apostles left it. And where was that? Just where the Old Testament Scriptures left it—under the sentence of *death!* 'He that stealeth a man, or selleth him, or if he be found in his hand,' that is, whether he steals, sells, or holds him, 'shall *surely* be put to death.' The law was made 'for men-stealers.' 'Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and right.' If hired, give them wages; if bond-servants, such as apprentices, or those that have bound themselves to service for a term of years, treat them kindly and give them an equivalent for their services; if slaves, set them at liberty, and remunerate them for the injury done them. Nothing less would be just and equal. Paul makes it the duty of a servant to be free if he can obtain his liberty: 'If thou mayest be free, use it rather.' If this is applicable to any kind of a servant, it must be to a slave. If it be the duty of the slave to obtain his freedom if he can, it cannot be the duty of the master to hold it from him. Did not Christ and his apostles condemn oppression? Did they not teach that the laborer is worthy of his reward? Did they not condemn defrauding the laborer? Did they not recognize the law against man-stealing? Did they not condemn slavery in all its parts, and as a whole? All the constituent parts of slavery are forbidden by Christ and his apostles in the clearest terms; and it is as a whole forbidden as man-stealing.

It is then clear from the Scriptures, that slavery is a sin, and one of the greatest magnitude. It is positively and plainly forbidden under the severest penalty.

We are now prepared to point out the duty of the church

in relation to slavery. It is the duty of the church in all her various branches, to bear testimony against it in proportion to the magnanimity of its criminality. This should be done,

1. By the public preaching of the gospel. Every minister of the gospel is as much bound to preach against the sin of slavery, as against the sin of murder. God has said, 'he that sheddeth man's blood, by man *shall* his blood be shed: but in the case of slavery he has added, '*surely* he shall;' 'he that stealeth a man shall *surely* be put to death. In view of the evil and cruelty of slavery, it is no wonder that God should set such a penalty against it. How vast the amount of murder that has resulted from slavery in the United States! All that have perished by the slave trade, by change of climate, by oppressive labor, by starvation, by cruel scourging and direct violence, must amount to millions! All this blood lies upon this nation! All this could have been prevented by adopting the divine law against man-stealing, into the civil code at the proper time. What a mercy it would have been to this ruined nation! Slavery in every age has been a system of murder, and must ever continue to be such. This is, no doubt, one reason why God forbid it under the penalty of death.

Again: nothing can be productive of more misery in this life than slavery. It breaks up all the tender relations of life. Eternity alone can reveal the amount of sorrows resulting from the sale of slaves; and vast is the amount that results to them from other sources.

The worst feature of slavery is, that it destroys the souls of men. It takes away from the slaves the key of knowledge, and the power of providing for themselves and their children the means of grace. There are now two millions of slaves in the Union, that are deprived of the privilege of learning to read the word of God. Vast numbers of them are in the hands of infidel masters, who will not permit them to hear the gospel. The right to marriage is abolished, and thus the prominent means to purity is taken from them. They cannot train up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. A thousand obstructions are thrown in the way of life. Every fountain of vice is opened upon them; and thus the continued tendency of slavery is to deeper and still deeper ignorance and degradation; and the ever swelling tide of moral death bears the hapless immortals down to endless sorrows.

The tendency of slavery upon the free population is deplorable. It is the channel to every vicious indulgence.

Idleness, intemperance, gambling and debauchery, are its genuine fruits; and it is itself a soul-destroying sin. How vast the multitude of masters and slaves that go down together to the pit of endless destruction! No system of wickedness can be better calculated to destroy the souls of men. Should not then the gospel ministry, whose business is to save souls, unite all their energies against it? Should they not lift up their voice like a trumpet, cry aloud, and spare not? If they fail to warn, will not God require the blood of the souls that perish at their hands?

And who can estimate the worth of souls? The brightest seraph that stands nearest the throne of God could not, in millions of ages, estimate the worth of a single soul. The time will come in eternity, when the soul of the meanest slave saved, shall have enjoyed more happiness than has yet been enjoyed by all the created beings in the vast universe; and then that soul will be no nearer an end of happiness than when it first entered heaven! None but God could redeem a soul; and heaven's treasures were exhausted in the purchase. And shall millions of souls be deprived of the word of life? Shall the image of God, and the purchase of a Saviour's love, be bought and sold like beasts? Shall God be robbed of the services of immortal beings? Shall they who were made but a little lower than the angels, be chained down to endless night? And shall gospel ministers, sent to warn the world of sin, stand silent by and let the tide of death roll on? Shall they fold their hands to rest while the waves of eternal death are tossing heaven-high, and burying millions in endless ruin? Woe to that minister who stains his garments in the blood of souls, and like Cain, with hands reeking with a brother's blood, says, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' It is vain to say that slavery is a political evil—that ministers should not interfere with politics. Will such an excuse avail at the bar of God when the judgment shall sit? The gospel ministry are sent to be the light of the world. The Saviour declares they 'are the light of the world.' Who but the ministers of Christ are to enlighten civil government? The sacred Scriptures are the standard of morals for government, as well as for individuals. And never will government reform while gospel ministers keep back the truth. The church must always be first in reform; and the ministry should always lead in the way to reformation. Let it not be said that it will do no good to preach against slavery. It is the business of the disciple to bear his testimony, and leave the event with his master. He is sent to reprove every sin, and to declare the whole counsel

of God; and then, if men refuse to hear, and perish in their sins, the ambassador of Christ is free from their blood; but if he fail to do his duty, their blood shall be required at his hand. No minister can determine how much good may result from reproving popular sins; nor is it his business to determine such matters.

2. It is the duty of the church to exclude all slave-holders from her communion. Slavery has been shown to be a sin of the greatest magnitude. The tenure by which every slave is held is in itself unjust, independent of the motives by which he is held. Good motives may be a mitigation of crime; but they can never make a thing right that is wrong in itself. The civil law makes the slave property; it gives the master power to retain him only because he is his property: the moment he ceases to be his property he is free. This tenure is in itself unjust, and cannot be made right by good motives. The tenure by which an apprentice is held, the Scriptures clearly justify. It results from fair contract between parties having the right to make the proper stipulations. Similar to this was the Jewish servitude. The apprentice is a bond-servant, but not a slave. He is not property: he is not liable to be sold for his master's debts.

The same is true of the tenure by which parents hold their children in a state of minor age; it is clearly justified by the word of God, and is founded upon the principles of justice. The tenure by which the slave is held is the very reverse of that by which children and apprentices are held: it has no foundation in justice, and is expressly forbidden in the word of God under the penalty of death. Then while we make all proper allowances for good intentions, the simple fact of holding a man in bondage by an unjust tenure ought to exclude a man from the communion of the church.

It may be objected, that some of the states prohibit the emancipation of slaves. To this it may be replied, that slave-holders made the laws prohibiting the emancipation of slaves, and consequently have no right to plead them as an excuse for injustice. Besides, there is not a man in the Union but can liberate his slaves by making the proper sacrifices. No man can be compelled to hold a slave. The civil government may sacrifice his property, but it cannot compel him to hold a slave. Christianity has clearly established the principle, that a man must sacrifice all he has, and even his life, sooner than do wrong. 'If a man forsake not all that he hath he cannot be my disciple,' is the positive declaration of the Son of God. It will require of no slave-holder to liberate his

slaves, more than was required of the young man in the gospel. "Go sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor."

The man then, that will hold his fellow-man in bondage by an unjust tenure sooner than sacrifice all his own property, ought to be excluded from the communion of the church. Surely such a man would deny Christ in the hour of persecution.

Again: it may be objected, that to liberate slaves in many cases would make their condition worse, especially in some states there are laws to take them up and sell them again into slavery. To this it may be replied, that a man is not held responsible for that which he has no power to prevent, farther than he has contributed to its existence. He is not accountable for the bad use which others make of his discharge of duty. Suppose the state should pass a law to put a man's children to death, in case he should become a christian; ought he to reject Christ, and live in sin, to save the lives of his children? Or would he be chargeable with murder in case his children should be put to death under such a law? Every candid man will say, the crime in such case must fall upon the state and the individuals who executed the law.

If liberated slaves make a bad use of their liberty, they, as rational beings are accountable, and ought to be punished like other men. And if others take them up and sell them into slavery, they shall bear their sin. All that can be done by advice and influence ought to be done, to prevent their condition from being made worse, if worse it could be made; but to hold them by an unjust tenure, to prevent their condition from being made worse, is to do evil that good may come. And the Scriptures declare that the damnation of such as do so, is just. The Scriptures nowhere justify holding a man in slavery for his good. This has in every age, been the pretext for tyranny. They that exercised authority upon the Gentiles were called benefactors—they exercised their tyranny for the good of the people; but the Saviour said it should not be so among his disciples. There must be no such benefactors among them. No pretext, then, should be admitted, not even that of holding slaves for their good. If one pretext is admitted, another may; and the exercise of discipline be impracticable. The sin of holding a man in bondage by an unjust tenure, is of itself, amply sufficient to exclude a man from the communion of the church. And the taking of the labors of a man without his consent, and without wages, is a sin of no ordinary magnitude. Where is the church that would not cut off from church fellowship the man that had defrauded

his hired laborer out of a single day's labor, and refused to repent and make restitution. How much more then, the man that compels his fellow-being to work for days and months and years, and even during life, without wages?

In order to the exercise of discipline it is not necessary to decide whether a slave-holder can be a christian or not. The object of discipline is to bring offenders to repentance, and not merely that of excluding from the church those who have no piety.

Let then all the various denominations of christians exclude from church fellowship all who persevere in holding slaves, under any pretext whatsoever; and let all the gospel ministers lift up their voices against slavery, and bring the lightnings and thunderings of Sinai to bear upon it, and it will wither and die like the mown grass beneath the scorching sun, and it will disappear like midnight darkness before the rising source of day.

Some denominations have nobly begun this work of mercy, and have already breasted the storm. Let the church universal, as the army of the living God, come up to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty; let her voice be heard as the sound of many waters, proclaiming liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound,—and the poisonous fountains of death shall be dried up, the rivers of anguish shall cease to flow, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away. Union in this great work will prepare the church for the rising of millenial glory, when liberty shall be universal, and the song of redeeming love shall ascend from every tongue, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.'

REPORT

OF THE

SECOND ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

OHIO ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY,

HELD IN MOUNT PLEASANT, JEFFERSON COUNTY, OHIO,

On the twenty-seventh of April, 1837.

CINCINNATI:
PUBLISHED BY THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
1837.

MINUTES.

SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY, held April 27–28, 1837, at Mount Pleasant, Jefferson county, the place where the celebrated philanthropist, BENJAMIN LUNDY, commenced his labors in behalf of emancipation.

Society met at 2 o'clock, P. M. in the Friends' Meeting House, and was called to order by A. A. Guthrie.

J. G. Birney was appointed Chairman pro tem., and George Whipple, Goodell Buckingham and A. A. Guthrie, Secretaries.

Rev. John Keep addressed the meeting for a few moments, explanatory of the objects of the convention, and followed his remarks by prayer.

On motion, the names of delegates were called for, whereupon the following gentlemen and ladies presented their names in accordance with the call.

PORTAGE COUNTY.
E. R. Hamline,
Isaac I, Bigelow,
T. E. Bottsford,
Lyman W. Hall.

Akron Soc.
Joseph Cole.

West. Reserve College.
A. Phelps.

Talmadge Female Soc.
Lucy M. Wright.

ASHTABULA COUNTY.
Lucretius Bissell,
Solomon Jenks.

Ladies' County Soc.
Mrs. L. Bissell,
Lucinda Cowles.

Morgan Township Soc.
David Wright.

WASHINGTON COUNTY.
Luke DeWitt,
John C. McCoy,
Ephraim Gould.

LOGAN COUNTY.
Miami Soc.
Samuel Mitchell.

Zanesfield Soc.
Emeline McConnel.

GUERNSEY COUNTY.
John Carey,
James Wallace,
E. F. Thompson.

MERCER COUNTY.

St. Mary's.
John O. Wattles,
Augustus Wattles.

FAYETTE COUNTY.
Joseph M. Gillespie,
Robert Dawson.

GREEN COUNTY.
John A. Purdy,
Jos. Templeton.

CUYAHOGA COUNTY.

Cleveland Soc.
John M. Sterling,
L. L. Rice.

Ohio City Soc.
John Keep.

Euclid Soc.
M. S. McIlrath.

ROSS COUNTY.

Frankfort Soc.
Samuel Stewart,
Moses Latta.

Chilicothe.
Clarissa Wright.

STARK COUNTY.
Ab'm. Baird, Jr.
Jas. Austin,
Jona. Wileman,
Elizabeth Wileman,
Rebecca Hicklin,
Mary Lukens,
Mr. Brook.

HARRISON COUNTY.
Cyrus McNeely.

Georgetown Soc.
John Hammond,
Jos. Cope,
John Heberling,
Wm. E. Lukens,
J. S. Hegue,
John Heberling, Jr.
John Cope.

Harrisville Soc.
Robt. Dutton,
Rachel Dutton,
John Mercer,
Samuel Lewis,
David Dutton,
Mary Hensell,
Hannah Hensell,
Mary Rhodes.

Green Tp. Soc.
Wm. Sloane,
Alex. Work,
Wm. Boyd,
Jonathan L. McFetridge,
George Work,
George Orr,
Jane Orr.

Lees Run Soc.
Richard Hammond,
James Lewis.

Freeport Soc.
Nathan Whealdon.

New Athens Soc.
Robt. J. Hammond,
Thos. B. Walker,
Titus Basfield,
Jacob Coon,
John Walker,
Wm. Lee,
Wm. Bogge,
Edward Vanhorne,
Alex. Hammond,
Rob't. Mentier,
John Sheridan,
Wm. T. Adams,
John M. Scrogge,
Wm. P. Braden,
Samuel A. Russell,
John M. French,
Johnson Hammond,
Thomas Swayne,
Joseph Grimes,
Robt. Patton,
Robt. R. Walker,
John C. Tidball,
John McCall,
Robt. McMillen.

John Twinam,
John Brokaw,
R. W. French,
Isaac Crawford.

Cadiz Soc.
Thomas Lee,
William Boyce,
John Olmsted,
R. Hanna,
M. Willson,
Wm. Sharp,
V. Wallar,
A. F. Hanna,
George Craig,
J. R. Hunter,
D. Taggart,
Jas. Maywell,
Alex. Henderson,
James Thompson,
James Poulson.

Cadiz Female Soc.
Mary Hanna,
Mary Ann Hanna,
Hannah Henderson,
Ruhamah Drummond,
Sarah Boyce,
Elizabeth Willson.

COLUMBIANA COUNTY.
John K. Snodgrass,
Rachel Hanna,
Candace B. Kirk.

Columbiana Tp. Soc.
John Dixon,
Lot Holmes,
Rebecca Dixon,
Sarah Holmes.

New Garden Soc.
Nathan Galbraith,
David Galbraith, Jr.
Edward Whinrey,
Joseph Ingram,
Ann Galbraith,
Hannah Jackson,
Hannah Bailey,
Esther Ann Galbraith,
Susan Ingram.

Salem Tp. Soc.
J. D. Cattell,
J. H. Cook,
Danl. Baunsell,
Elizabeth Kirk,
Mary Gouldbourn.

Middleton Tp. Soc.
Jacob Heacock, Jr.

New Lisbon Soc.
Jos. Garrettson.

GEAUGA COUNTY.
Abner Clark, Jr.

CLERMONT COUNTY.
Thos. Donaldson,
Mark Strickland.

WAYNE COUNTY.
Waynesburgh Soc.
J. S. Farr.

MUSKINGUM COUNTY.
A. A. Guthrie,
Horace Nye,
Cyrus Brown,
Margaretta Gillespie,
Lucy Allen,
Eliza Tucker,
Eliza Steward,
Mary Sturges,
Achsah Colburn,

Newton Soc.
William Wylie.

New Concord.
H. Forsyth,
Oliver Wylie,
John Jamieson, Jr.

Rich Hill.
Elijah Forsyth,
James McNaughton,
Thomas Sinclair.

HIGHLAND COUNTY.
Greenfield Soc.
Samuel Crothers.

New Petersburgh.
Wm. H. Rogers,
Alex. Scroggs, Jr.

MEDINA COUNTY.
Elijah C. Benton.

Newton Soc.
O. D. Canfield.

BELMONT COUNTY.
Andrew Foster,
Eli Nichols,
Jos. Mead,
Rebecca Gregg,
Mary Coffer.

Flushing Soc.
Jesse Bailey,
Wm. Palmer,
Thomas Vincent,
A. Ray,
J. Fawcett,
David Piggot,
J. T. Hirst,
Joseph Palmer,
L. B. Scolds,
Lewis Wood,
Charlotte Fisher,

DELAWARE COUNTY.
Peru Tp Soc.
William Grisell,
L. A. Houston.

ADAMS COUNTY.
West Union Soc.
Dyer Burgess.

LORAIN COUNTY.
Elyria Soc.
John Monteith.

Oberlin Soc.
G. Whipple,
J. M. Blakesley,
S. S. Brown,
H. W. Fairfield,
S. D. Cochran,
T. S. Ingersoll,
Cortland Avery,
William Joyner,
Lydia A. Keep,
Harriet Wright.

MONROE COUNTY.
Robert Lesslie,
Moses Allen,
Charles Dungan,
Thomas Grey.

RICHLAND COUNTY.
Mansfield Soc.
Theodore J. Keep,
G. Buckingham.

Green Tp. Soc.
Wm. Karnahan.

Hayesville Soc.
Moses Scott.

HAMILTON COUNTY.
James G. Birney,
Gamaliel Bailey, Jr.
Wm. Donaldson,
Amzi D. Barber,
M. R. Robinson,
Florella Wright,
Emily Robinson,
Edward Weed.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY.
Dayton Soc.
Sarah Galbraith.

BROWN COUNTY.
White Oak Soc.
Josiah Moore,

Ripley Tp. Soc.
John Rankin,
James Dunlap.

LICKING COUNTY.
Welch Hills Soc.
John White.

Granville Soc.
Curtis Howe,
Spencer Wright,
Anne Bancroft,
Orlena Wright,
Lucy Bancroft.

Hartford Tp. Soc.
Anson Clark.

St. Albans Soc.
Lewis Barnes,
James A. Barnes.

JEFFERSON COUNTY.

Mt. Pleasant Tp. Soc.
Thomas Campbell,
Matthew Clapp,
Wm. Robinson,
David Updegraff,
Jesse Thomas,
Joseph McMillan,
Joseph Bryant,
Wm. Flanner,
Pinckney Lewis,
Meric Starr,
Jacob Flanner,
Geo. Brown,
Elisha Sidwell,
Avis Thomas,
Jane Robinson,
Rebecca Updegraff,
Peninah Flanner,
Rebecca Tomlinson,
Eliza Ann Griffith,
Elizabeth Sidwell,
Anna Robinson,
Ann Pearson.

Steubenville Soc.
Sarah Moody,
Eliza Wilson,
Nancy Stokely.

CLINTON COUNTY.
Abraham Allen.

TUSCARAWAS COUNTY.
John Moore.

MORGAN COUNTY.
C. R. Brown.

TRUMBULL COUNTY.
H. G. Woolcott,
Thos. Jones.

G. Bailey read the report of the Executive Committee, which, on motion, was referred.

On motion of J. G. Birney, gentlemen (members of Anti Slavery Societies in other States) were invited to take seats with us as corresponding members.

Present as such:

Dr. F. J. Lemoyne,
Thos. McKeever, Esq.
Thomas Piles,
David Boyd,
Alex. C. Hamilton,
Joseph Matthews,
Robert Sloane,
M. McKeever,
Dr. A. W. Campbell,
David Moore,
Joseph Cole,
J. L. Sampson, from Colchester, U. Canada.

James Petrie, M. D., from Newbury, Vermont.

On motion of A. A. Guthrie, the following committees were appointed:

Committee on the report of the Executive Committee—Joseph A. Dugdale, J. G. Birney, Thos. Donaldson, William Sloane, Robert Hanna, J. M. Sterling, Horace Nye.

Committee on Petition to the Legislature—L. L. Rice, J. M. Paine, Nathan Johnson, J. G. Birney, J. M. Sterling.

Committee to receive reports of Societies—A. A. Guthrie, Goodcil Buckingham, Geo. Whipple.

Of Nomination—John Keep, W. Donaldson, A. A. Guthrie, M. R. Robinson, James Dunlap, Goodcil Buckingham, Jas. G. Birney.

On Business—G. Bailey, A. A. Guthrie, M. R. Robinson, E. Weed, Wm. Donaldson.

On Resolutions—Samuel Crothers, Eli Nichols, J. Rankin, J. A. Dugdale, D. Bonsell.

On Petition to Congress—J. G. Birney, John Walker, L. W. Hall, (gentlemen's petition,) Elizabeth L. Borton, Lucy Wright, Elizabeth Wilson, (ladies' petition).

Adjourned to meet at 8 o'clock, A. M., to-morrow.

Friday Morning, 8 *o'clock.*

Society met according to adjournment.

Opened with prayer, by the Rev. Samuel Crothers.

G. Bailey read the report of the Publishing Committee.

Nomination Committee reported the names of the following gentlemen for officers of the Society the ensuing year.

President,

LEICESTER KING.

Vice Presidents.

Alexander Campbell, James Gilliland, } Brown county.
Asa Mahan, Oberlin.
Dr. Bancroft, Granville.
Reese E. Price, Hamilton county.
Francis Dunlavy, Warren county.
Wm. Kets, Highland county.
David Long, Ross county.
Samuel Crothers, Highland county.
Nathan Galbraith, Columbiana.
James Stewart, Fayette.

Dyer Burgess, Adams.
Abraham Baer, Starke.
Wm. R. Hudson, Geauga.
Samuel Denny, Pickaway.
G. Buckingham, Richland.
Orestes K. Hawley, Ashtabula.
J. Joliffe, Clinton.
Levi Whipple, Muskingum.
J. S. Waugh, Butler.
John Walker, Harrison.
Daniel Miller, Seneca.
J. G. Birney, Hamilton.
J. A. Foote, Cuyahoga.

Corresponding Secretary,
Gamaliel Bailey, jr.

Recording Secretary,
Augustus Hopkins.

Treasurer,
William Donaldson.

Managers,
Harmon Kingsbury, Cuyahoga county.
Isaac Colby, Cincinnati.
Thomas Maylin, Cincinnati.
John Melendy, Cincinnati.
Christian Donaldson, Cincinnati.
John Hunt, Athens county.
Joshua K. Giddings, Ashtabula.
Jacob Coon, Belmont.
J. B. Mahan, Brown county.
John Rankin, Brown county.
Thomas Hibbon, Clinton.
Manasseh Baer, Carroll.
James Hambleton, Columbiana.
M. B. Cushing, Franklin.
Uri Seely, Geauga.
Rob't. Hanna, Harrison.
Rob't. Bell, Holmes.
Everton Judson, Huron.

Wm. Flanner, Jefferson.
W. W. Beebe, Knox.
Joseph Riggs, Scioto.
J. B. Johnson, Logan.
John Monteith, Lorain.
Archibald Stewart, Fayette.
Timothy Hudson, Medina.
Charles Dringan, Monroe.
James H. Shield, Montgomery.
Horace Nye, Muskingum.
John Wallace, Muskingum.
G. C. Beaxen, Pike.
Asahel Kilbourn, Portage.
P. H. Gallady, Preble.
Sheldon Guthrie, Putnam.
Rob't. Stewart, Ross.
Samuel McCullough, Shelby.
Riverius Bidwell, Trumbull.
J. M. Sterling, Cuyahoga.
Peter Kirkpatrick, Licking.
George Beecher, Clinton.
Wm. Cook, Hamilton.
John Keep, Ohio City.

Executive Committee.

Wm. Donaldson,
Gamaliel Bailey, jr.
James C. Ludlow,
Reese E. Price,
Isaac Colby,
Augustus Hopkins,
John Melendy,
Horace Bushnell,
James G. Birney.

Delegates to the Convention at New York.

J. G. Birney,
G. Buckingham,
E. Sturges,
G. Helmick,

WM. KEYS,
H. FOOTE,
HIRAM WILSON,
MICHAEL S. McILRATH,
JOEL FISK,
JOHN MORGAN,
SAMUEL STEELE,
CHARLES S. RENSHAW,
BENNET ROBERTS,
DANIEL H. BABCOCK.

J. G. Birney, from the committee to whom was referred the report of the Executive Committee, reported the same back with slight amendments, and a recommendation to commit it to the Executive Committee for the ensuing year, for publication; which was agreed to by the society.

J. G. Birney offered and supported the following resolution:

Resolved, There is no danger to the integrity of the Union to be apprehended from the discussion of the subject of slavery, or from the emancipation of the blacks. *Passed unanimously.*

John Rankin and Dyer Burgess supported the following resolution.

Resolved, That the sending of agents to collect funds from slaveholders, tends to bring the proceeds of robbery into the treasury of benevolent societies, to relieve the consciences of slaveholders, to render slavery reputable, and to corrupt both the agents, and societies who send them.

Sister Elizabeth Borton also supported the foregoing.

The Treasurer offered his report, which was received, and referred to a committee of three as auditors.

Adjourned to meet at 2 o'clock, P. M.

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2 o'clock, P. M.

Society met.

Committees on Petitions reported, and were discharged from the further consideration of the subject. The business of

drawing up the forms of petitions, was committed to the Executive Committee.

Dr. J. F. Lemoyne offered and supported the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is the duty of every friend of immediate emancipation, fully to investigate and appreciate the obstacles which oppose and obstruct the free course of our holy cause; and to employ more zealously his time, talents and means, in every peaceful and righteous instrumentality for its speedy triumph. *Passed unanimously.*

Individuals and societies were called on for pledges to the funds of the society for the ensuing year; when about six thousand three hundred dollars were subscribed.

On motion of Mr. Birney, it was

Resolved, That the time of holding the annual meeting of the society, be between the 25th of May and 10th of June.

Resolved, That the Treasurer be instructed to meet the pledge of last year (to the American Society) as far as possible, and that the Executive Committee be instructed to meet the whole as soon as possible.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be authorised to pledge to the parent society, a sum not exceeding $2000, from any moneys which may remain in their hands, after paying the present pledge.

Resolved, That all moneys paid to the society shall pass into the hands of the Treasurer, and no moneys shall be paid out by him except upon the written order of the Executive Committee.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be requested to prepare and send up to the next legislature a statement of facts with regard to the colored people of this state, showing their numbers, condition and the effects of our statutes upon them.

Saturday Morning, 9 *o'clock.*

Society met according to adjournment, and was called to order by Nathan Galbraith Jones.

On motion of a member of the Convention, it was

Resolved, That our friends are respectfully invited to use their individual influence to increase the subscription list of papers friendly to our cause, especially of the Philanthropist, as the organ of this society.

J. S. Sampson made an interesting report on the condition of the colored population of Canada.

Amzi D. Barber made a report on the present condition of the colored population of Cincinnati.

A. Wattles offered and supported the following resolution:

Resolved, That colored people are men, and that abolitionists will regard and receive them as such.

The following resolution was offered by a member of the society and adopted.

Resolved, That our sincere thanks are tendered to the Hon. J. Q. Adams, of the house of representatives, from Massachusetts, and to Thomas Morris, of the senate, from the state of Ohio, for their magnanimous exertions in behalf of the right of petition—the last right that those who would be free, should surrender.

By request of the treasurer—

Resolved, That all moneys paid in for the colored schools, be paid into the hands of Lucy M. Wright.

M. M. Clark, agent of the colored people of the state of Ohio, presented a report on the colored population of the state.

Mr. Rice, of Cleveland, offered the following resolution, which was adopted.

Resolved, That this society approve the exertions of the colored people in their own behalf, and cordially recommend to the friends of equal rights, throughout the state, to encourage them in their endeavors to elevate themselves.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That we view any future annexation of Texas to the Union, unless the existence of slavery be utterly and forever inhibited within its limits, as fatal to the political power of the free states, and destructive of their interests in the Union.

Resolved, That the experience of the last year has abundantly proved, that the demands of the slaveholders of the south for the maintenance of their system, tend to the utter subversion of the indisputable and, heretofore, unquestionable rights of the north—the liberty of the press and of speech, personal security, and the right of trial by jury; and to the utter subversion of the principles of the American constitution.

Resolved, That it is time for the abolitionists of Ohio to relinquish *all party* attachments, by which they have heretofore been actuated in politics, and to act with a single view to the *supremacy* of *the laws*, the *inviolability* of *constitutional* privileges, and the *equal rights of all.*

Resolved, That it be recommended to abolitionists throughout the state, to adopt means for ascertaining the sentiments of candidates for office, in relation to the great principles of constitutional liberty and legal protection, which, as abolitionists, we *all* cherish; and to support only such as are decided in maintaining these principles, and in upholding order and law in the community.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the friends of Anti-slavery throughout this state, to enter into and promote, as far as practicable, the culture of the *sugar beet*, as a means of diminishing the extensive use of the products of slave labor.

Resolved, That, for the purpose of economizing our means and furthering the cause, it be recommended to abolitionists to use their utmost endeavors to enlighten and persuade the people of their respective counties and form societies in every town or neighborhood, and thus save as far as possible the expense of traveling agents.

Resolved, That the services of J. L. Sampson, in behalf of the colored people in Canada, in his gratuitous mission among them, receive the grateful approval of this meeting; that he be encouraged to prosecute his efforts of love, and that the sympathies of the public should be directed in aid of his object.

Resolved, That the executive committee of this society be directed, and they are hereby directed, to appoint delegates to the American Anti Slavery Society, at their meeting in the year 1838.

Resolved, That example has more influence than precept, and that the unnatural, cruel and dishonest practice of slavery, corrupts the public morals, undermines and destroys the influence of religion, wages a war of extermination against the natural dictates of justice, uproots and scatters to the winds the republican doctrine of equal rights, makes our boasted liberties the jest of the world, and a cause of triumph and hissing to monarchs, nurtures within the bosom of the nation millions of enemies to the government, and requires that society be supported and maintained by force; whereas it should be cemented by mutual interest and upheld by common good will.

Resolved, That slavery should be removed by the civil administration of the competent and organized governments, and that we most earnestly deprecate any resort to physical force for the abolition thereof by the bond or free.

Resolved, That the civil government of the United States is constitutionally competent to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and the slave trade between the several states and territories, and to prohibit slavery in the territories of the Union, and in the new states that shall be admitted, and the said constitutional authority should be exercised.

Resolved, That as abolitionists, we have no connection with any of

the political parties of the Union, and that it is not the object of abolition, either directly or collaterally, to aid or abet either of said parties or leaders, otherwise than as the same may promote the abolition of slavery, to which alone we, as abolitionists, stand pledged.

The following letter, received during the Convention, will explain the cause of the absence of president LEICESTER KING.

WARREN, *Trumbull county Ohio,*
April 24th, 1837.

DEAR SIR—

On my return home a few days since, after an absence of nearly six months, your esteemed favor was placed in my hands, informing me that the "annual meeting of the OHIO ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY would be holden at Mount Pleasant, on the 27th instant, and that it was the wish of the Executive Committee that I should be present and address the society on that occasion on some subject connected with its great objects.

To those of my personal acquaintances, I need give no assurances of the pleasure which such an opportunity would afford me, and that no duties of a private or personal character would prevent me from complying with the wishes of my friends and associates. Engagements, however, of a public nature, made at Columbus during the last session of the Legislature, require my attendance on the Board of Public Works and the Executive of the state, on the first day of May next, in the western part of the state; to fulfil which, I must leave this place on the 26th instant.

In reviewing the progress which the principles of civil liberty have made within the last few years in the most enlightened portions of the globe, in breaking down those arbitrary distinctions which have been made between man and man in the exercise of their natural and personal rights, which each received at the hands of his Creator, which were first established by physical power, and to which custom and long continuance had almost secured the universal acquiescence of mankind,—the friends of human rights have abundant cause for encouragement and perseverance.

Already has the public mind become alarmed at the combined and systematic efforts which have been made in various sections of our country, to wrest from its citizens the most sacred rights guarantied to them by the constitutions of their adoption; the freedom of speech and of the press; the right of investigating abuses; of petitioning for a redress of grievances, and of personal liberty and safety. These

combined efforts have naturally led to an inquiry into the principles upon which our government is founded, and the tenure by which our rights are secured. If they are liable to be wrested from us at the pleasure of any combination of individuals in society, then are we reduced to the most degraded servitude; to a state of undefined and unrestricted slavery. The spirit of freedom has, however, been awakened by the inquiry and the champions of liberty, unappalled by the threatening array of vindictive popular phrensy which has been surreptitiously brought to bear upon them, are rising up in every part of the land, and boldly declaring that, although slavery may be tolerated in some portions of this free republic, yet they will never consent to be slaves or surrender the rights of freemen.

The firmness and unanimity with which the legislatures of several of the states have recently met the attempted encroachments and restrictions upon the rights of the people, strongly evince their sensitiveness upon the subject, and their strong attachments to the cause of freedom.

While they manifest no intention of interfering with the constitution and laws in other states, for the perpetuation of slavery, and the protection of that species of property, they show a fixed determination that it shall not be effected at the sacrifice of the rights secured to the freemen of their own.

Looking forward to the time, which I hope is not far distant, when the great mass of the American people will practically acknowledge, that the principles promulgated to the world by the patriots of the revolution, were not intended as mere abstract theories unfit for use, but as fundamental truths upon which all free governments should be based; and hoping that your meeting may be productive of much good to the cause of humanity.

I subscribe myself,

very cordially,

your friend,

LEICESTER KING.

LETTER FROM OWEN BROWN.

Hudson, April 24, 1837.

DEAR BRETHREN:

It would have been a great gratification, could I have been permitted to meet with you, and mingle my sympathetic feelings with you, and hear you deliberate on the best means to promote the anti-slavery cause, and elevate the colored people of our land. It would give me pleasure if I could say no more than aye! to your reso-

lutions. But as I shall not be present, permit me to drop a hint for your consideration in the form of a resolution, subject to amendments, hoping that some one or more will speak on it.

Resolved, That education lies at the foundation of elevation in civil and religious liberty, and that it is expedient there should be a State Anti Slavery Education Society formed, and that it be recommended to the county and town societies to form societies auxiliary to the State Anti Slavery Society.

Reasons. 1st. There is no provision made, by our statute, for the education of black and mulatto youth and children in our common schools; and, in this respect, they are but little better off in this state than in the slave states.

2d. Public sentiment forbids their being schooled in common schools at present, even where they are able to pay for their schooling.

3d. There is no provision made for them by the American Education Society, at least short of a public education. So there is no help between entire ignorance and a classic education, and but few of the colleges will receive black and mulatto students. So we may see, the American Education Society by no means reaches their case; and, besides, I have never heard an agent of that society plead the cause of the poor black and mulatto population.

4th. Where schools have been set up at the expense and self-denial of individuals, in most cases they have met with great opposition; their expense has been much increased; their patience tried, and they have had the aid of but very few.

5th. This want of education shuts out this class of people from most of the privileges of other benevolent societies, as that of the Bible and Tract Societies, and even the Home Mission Society is but of little use.

6th. For want of education, newspaper and periodical information is in a manner lost; correspondence with each other is cut off, and much kind advice and instruction are lost, such as are necessary to regulate their conduct, make them good members of civil and religious society, make them useful and happy neighbors, lessen their crimes, and raise their prospects for time and eternity. With these few remarks I close, imploring the blessing of God on your deliberations.

OWEN BROWN.

Resolved to lay the subject of this over to our annual meeting, and that this letter be published in the proceedings of this meeting.

REPORTS.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY. 1836-7.

On a review of events that have transpired since our last anniversary, your committee find abundant cause for gratitude to the Father of Spirits, whose providence is over all his works, and whose wisdom is displayed in making even the opposition of his creatures minister to the furtherance of his purposes.

To abolitionists, the past year has been one of self-denial, persecution and labor. But they have had their reward—even the testimony of a good conscience, that they have pleased God, in feeling for those in bonds as bound with them, in pleading for them who cannot plead for themselves. And the evidences are at hand that they have neither acted nor suffered in vain. With joy they contemplate the magnificent advancement of their cause. God has not permitted the proclamation of truth to fall powerless on the ear of man. Justice has not commanded; mercy has not wept in vain. The violence of adversaries, the deep excitement in church and state, tell that men's consciences are stirred, and that the light of truth is beginning to reveal the inexcusable iniquity of this nation.

It is not possible to estimate accurately the advancement of abolitionism. That the number of its adherents has been wonderfully multiplied, is evident; but this is not the only circumstance by which to judge of its progress. We must extend our view to its influence on the sentiments of those who are not its professed adherents. Where a mind, pre-resolved against truth, has been brought to candid inquiry; where prejudice has been softened; where a generous feeling of pity towards the oppressed, or indignation towards the oppressor, or hatred of tyranny has been awakened; *there* abolitionism has obtained a triumph. Many triumphs of this kind have been achieved. Besides, changes are not the birth of a moment; they may be in progress for days, for months, for years; and yet no eye behold them. The outer aspect may not be changed, while beneath, there is a new being. There can be no doubt that abolitionism is thus moving onward in a large portion of the community. Their minds are gradually opening

to the reception of its truths; imperceptibly do their affections begin to adhere to its free principles. But of these silent, secret changes, we can form no accurate opinion; we must patiently wait until the day of their revelation. We have the less occasion to search out these under movements of society, since on the surface such an abundance of faith is exhibited, illustrative of the progress of our principles.

FOREIGN SENTIMENT.

GREAT BRITAIN. In Great Britain, these principles are now engaging as they have heretofore engaged, the earnest attention of the public mind. Men, distinguished for rank, intellect and piety, have devoted themselves to the dissemination of correct doctrines concerning human rights, and to the task of unchaining degraded human nature. The career of George Thompson, denounced, defamed, persecuted and banished by this republican nation, has been a glorious one in his native land, and not less honorable to himself than beneficial to the interests of humanity. We rejoice to see the people of Great Britain arising on the question of slavery. It is a question which concerns the whole human family, and their cooperation with the friends of the slave in this country, is a fine illustration of the truth, that christian benevolence is not to be hedged in by geographical limits. The world—the world, this is the home of the true philanthropist; this should be his field of labor. It is in vain that the supporters of slavery plead that it is a domestic political institution, and therefore entrenched beyond the reach of foreign censure. When the fundamental principles of justice and humanity are systematically and perpetually violated by one nation, its sovereignty may secure it from armed interference, but not from the scorn, indignation and rebuke of other less favored, but more consistently humane nations.

Public sentiment is already formed in Great Britain. The sympathies of her people are strongly enlisted in behalf of American abolitionists; and her churches, with all due affection and respect, and yet with the utmost plainness, have earnestly expostulated with their sister churches in America, on the sin of slavery. Its vigilance is also awakened to the extension of this system, and to the project of the slave holding party in this country, to procure the annexation of Texas to our territory. All this is matter of congratulation. The greater the moral force which can be brought to bear upon the subject, the sooner will the question be decided. The world is not now so insulated in its different portions as in former times. Nations are drawn more closely together by the sympathies of a common religion, and the bonds of a common interest; so that it is absurd for any minute portion of civilization to imagine it can face the abiding frown of the

great mass, unless it should be sustained by a full consciousness of innocence and integrity.

FRANCE. Abolition societies have also been instituted in France. Their specific object is the extermination of every form of slavery from the French West India islands.

HAYTI. In Hayti, societies have been formed, with the avowed object of extinguishing slavery throughout the world. This is as it should be. The Haytians know, that so long as the system of slavery is practiced in the United States, so long as it is advocated on principle as it is in this country, so long will all colored people every where be liable to mortification, disrespect and degradation.

CANADA. Canada, from its situation and connection, is anti slavery. In this country, will the future historian of America record with astonishment, did the black man, self emancipated from the chains of a republican people, or a fugitive from their barbarous prejudice, find beneath the sceptre of a king, that repose, equality and respect, which the boasted government of freemen had denied him. In Canada, philanthropists are moving with energy in the cause of emancipation. Within the last year they have organised themselves into a society, for the purpose of co-operating with societies of a kindred character in the United States.

PROGRESS AT HOME.

The rapidity with which abolition societies have sprung up in this country during the past year, has exceeded calculation. We have room to advert only to a few of the more prominent instances.

MICHIGAN. On the 10th of November, 1833, delegates from all parts of Michigan assembled in convention, and, after an interesting session, framed a constitution and organised a state society. This state, although not exempt from the national prejudice against the colored man, yet being far removed from the ordinary pro-slavery influences, has given a ready reception to the principles of abolition. From the failure of all attempts hitherto to give predominance to the mob spirit notwithstanding the manifestly deep interest of the people in the discussion of the subject of slavery, we predict much success to our cause in this new state.

MASSACHUSETTS. The Massachusetts Anti Slavery Society recently held its anniversary in the city of Boston. One year before, this city had been disgraced by an anti abolition mob, of as much virulence, with perhaps the exception of the Cincinnati mob, as any that have appeared during the struggle of free principles. This year the society assembled in peace; not because people were indifferent, for their meetings were largely attended, but because the mob spirit had been

prostrated by the patience and energy with which abolitionists had maintained the right of free discussion. What merits special notice, as a striking indication of the progress of change in public sentiment, is the fact, that for one evening, the society, by consent of the House of Representatives, occupied the legislative hall for their exercises.

NEW YORK. A no less favorable indication has been presented in the state of New York. More than a year ago, it will be remembered, a violent mob, instigated and led on by men of station and influence in the community, assailed the convention which had assembled at Utica for the purpose of forming a state society, and by menace and outrage compelled them to disperse. The result was, that a large portion of the citizens of Utica were converted into staunch abolitionists; an excellent anti slavery paper was established in the town, and a large state society formed of the most excellent materials. This year, in the same place, the society held its anniversary in peace. Violence had yielded place to kindness, and politicians there were, who, from being persecutors, became candidates for the favor of the once persecuted.

PENNSYLVANIA. Pennsylvania has at length come up to the work. A convention of some of her best citizens assembled at Harrisburg, January 31st, during the sitting of the legislature, and after a pleasant, harmonious and efficient session, organised a state society.

With three or four exceptions, we believe that state societies now exist in all the free states. They are all active, all flourishing, all of one heart and mind in the great work of immediate emancipation.

OHIO. In our own state, the principles of anti slavery have prevailed exceedingly. We have no accurate record of the number of societies organised since our last anniversary, but we know that their number is great. Several lecturers employed by the national society, have been traversing different parts of the state, and their letters, published from time to time in the Philanthropist and Emancipator, show with what success their labors have been attended. Your committee, during a part of the year, employed three agents, whose services, during the period of their appointment, were highly efficient. Besides these, we have learned that lecturers have occasionally been employed by individual societies. We see nothing in the aspect of affairs in Ohio, to lessen our hopes or palsy effort. In numerous sections of the state, there is a demand for lecturers, and all that is needed is additional light. The vicinity of Ohio to states in which slavery exists, has not yet so corrupted her yeomanry as to take away their power of appreciating free principles; and we have little doubt that, notwithstanding the constant pressure of slave holding influences to which she is subject, it will not be long before this state will present a most

formidable phalanx of anti slavery sentiment, impenetrable to all the assaults of the spirit of slavery.

Five or six years ago, we believe, the first anti slavery society was formed in the nation. Now, it is calculated, there are nearly a thousand societies, directly or indirectly auxiliary to the parent society; all actively and without ceasing, employed in the cause of freedom. This is our second anniversary. Two years ago our state society was formed: and now, according to the most accurate calculation, we number more than two hundred societies. Add to these evidences of the wide prevalence of abolitionism, the employment at this time of seventy lecturers by the parent society, and the continual demand for more: the enlargement and vigorous circulation of papers specially devoted to anti slavery; the conversion of several political papers to our cause; the opening of the columns of neutral papers in different parts of the country to the free discussion of slavery; the agitation of the public mind on this question; the attention bestowed on abolition movements in legislative halls and churches; the increasing excitement of the south, and the testimony of slaveholders themselves, and we can form some faint idea of the power and progress of the anti slavery cause.

We have introduced facts enough to show how fruitful have been our labors. A more important duty now demands attention: it is to consider some of the most prominent events that have transpired during the year in connection with anti slavery movements.

GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

One of these events was the session of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, in the summer of 1836. The Methodist church was once distinguished by her unconcealed hatred of slavery, and the fearless denunciation of it by her ministry. Her zeal in this way not unfrequently brought upon her great odium, and subjected her southern members to severe persecution. Opposition to slavery still stood out in prominent characters on her book of discipline; but persecution had succeeded in repressing, to a great extent, the manifestations of such opposition on the part of her ministry. There was her written declaration as a church, that she was as much as ever opposed to slavery, but it was evident that her antagonism was so qualified and directed as to avoid not only proscription, but suspicion. In fact, it was believed that the parts of her discipline relating to slavery, had become a dead letter.

The acts of the conference of 1836, revealed what abundant ground there was for this belief. Few can be ignorant of its proceedings in relation to slavery. Our report of them has been extensively

circulated; and, so far as we know, not a single statement therein has been pointed out as erroneous. A few individuals ventured to impeach the whole as a misrepresentation, but when called upon to specify any particular fact, falsely stated, or speech incorrectly reported, they never answered to the call.

A resolution of censure was formally introduced in the Conference, against two individuals, members of this body, who, in an interval of leisure, had attended a meeting of the Cincinnati Anti Slavery Society. Appended to this was a resolution, denunciatory of modern abolitionism. The debate consequent upon these resolutions, furnished undoubted evidence of the fact, that both the ministry and membership of the southern portion of this church are deeply involved in the sin of slave holding; and that, so widely have they departed from their primitive doctrines on this subject, that they hesitate not to bring the sanctions of revelation to the support of slavery.

The proceedings of the conference will, doubtless, be overruled for good. Indeed, so far as we can judge, they have already been productive of beneficial results. They have disclosed the real condition of the Methodist Episcopal Church in relation to slavery. An evil must be known before a cure can be effected. Palpable evidence is now at hand, to prove that this influential church is radically defective on the subject of slavery; that the bulwarks of her discipline have not been able to withstand the disastrous influences of a wide reaching system of oppression.

This conference furnished painful demonstrations of the deleterious results of slave holding on christian character. The harshness of temper, undisguised anger and overbearing spirit, exhibited by ministers of a meek and benevolent religion, show how fatally the slave is always avenged on his oppressor.

The hasty zeal with which the champions of slavery rush to the defence of their peculiar institution, gave occasion in this instance, as it has done in many others, for an extended discussion of the principles of abolitionism. The individual who introduced the resolutions, had no idea, we presume, of laying open for consideration the whole ground of slavery. He certainly could not have supposed that he was about to be the chief instrument in bringing on a discussion in the light of which, the hideous features of slave holding should become manifest, and modern abolitionism be set forth in its own pure and exalted character, stripped of the unsightly appendages attached to it by the falsehood or ignorance of its adversaries. But such was the fact. The occasion offered, and we rejoice to know that anti slavery found a champion ready to avail himself of it. The day may yet come, when the Methodist Episcopal Church will honor

Orange Scott for his noble defence of her truth and unperverted doctrines against the modern corruptions introduced by slavery.

Another effect of the proceedings of this body does not at first view appear so favorable. We are free to confess our belief that the violent and proscriptive spirit displayed by ministers of the gospel, in an august ecclesiastical assembly, had no inconsiderable influence in aggravating, if not generating, that disposition in a certain class of the community, to the adoption of lawless measures against the abolitionists, which subsequently broke out into open persecution.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,

Another ecclesiastical body, no less imposing and influential, sat during the last year at Pittsburgh. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, by its election of a slave holder to the office of Moderator, gave painful evidence of the prevalence of a low tone of sentiment with regard to the influence of slavery. Strong efforts were made by abolition members to obtain an express declaration from the Assembly of the sinfulness of this system; while on the other hand, the supporters of slavery were no less strenuous in their attempts to compel this body to disavow all constitutional right to express any opinion on the subject. They were both defeated by the vote of a considerable majority, postponing the whole question indefinitely. This vote, when considered in connection with the open instructions of southern presbyteries to their delegates, to refuse submission to any acts of the General Assembly condemnatory of slavery; and also with the special meeting of the southern delegation in Pittsburgh, at which the form of a resolution was devised, to be proposed to the General Assembly, denying all power in it to make any declaration concerning the moral nature of this peculiar system, demonstrates that a large majority of the assembly either believed slave holding sinless, or were prevailed on by an unevangelical timidity to turn aside from the path of rigid duty. The whole of the proceedings on this subject show what inroads the spirit of Slavery has made on the church of Christ, and with what little reason *they* find fault with abolitionism, who suppose that the question has been agitated only to the injury of religion. While men slept the enemy sowed tares. Abolitionism has aroused the church from its almost fatal lethargy, and she indeed finds that an enemy has been busy within her fold.

THE CHURCH BEGINNING TO MOVE.

Ecclesiastical action favorable to abolitionism has been greatly on the increase during the past year. The amount of this action, precisely,

it is not in our power to report, but we know that numerous ecclesiastical bodies have spoken out fearlessly on the subject. The Friends, although backward in joining themselves to abolition societies, have extensively and ardently, as might have been anticipated from their excellent principles, lent their open sympathy and countenance to the anti slavery cause. The Baptist churches in the east, and the Presbyterian churches, both east and west, have felt it their duty, in many instances to raise their voices against the sin of slave holding. In this state many of the presbyteries have taken an open and firm stand against it. As it regards the Methodist Episcopal church, we cannot but believe that the proceedings of the General Conference, and the action of her ministry and bishops have exerted an evil influence in repressing the manifestations of sympathy with the oppressed. In many parts of this community, however, there is an awakening zeal on this subject, and some of the ablest supporters of anti slavery are to be found among her members.

APATHY OF THE CHURCH.

On the whole, however, the fact ought not to be concealed, that the majority of the churches are indifferent to the evils of slavery, as well as hostile to anoltitionism. The discussion of the subject is to most of them a source of dread. This is a most singular fact, when we consider the nature and circumstances of the question presented to their notice. Confessedly it is a religious question in its most important bearings, involving principles of the utmost magnitude. It cannot be discussed without bringing under review the entire nature of man, and the will of God concerning him, together with those principles of justice and benevolence, which constitute the chief glory of the Divine character, and the only security of the human family against discord, corruption and ruin. It is to be remembered, too, that the advocates of slavery have appealed to the Bible for their warranty of the right of property in human flesh and blood. In this book, they boldly and unceasingly declare, they find the justification of the slave holder. Moreover, no man can be blind to the fact, that slavery, in one way or another, exerts a deep influence on the moral and religious habits of the community in which it exists.

Notwithstanding all these circumstances, a majority of the christian church, declines all examination of the agitating subject, and either forbears to give any opinion on its merits, or decides in favor of slave holding advocates. Whatever may be the motives of such conduct, whether an apprehension of disquiet, of division, of persecution, or an erroneous impression that the question is a political one, and therefore unsuitable to the retiring spirit of christianity, deep and abiding

is our conviction, that no motive in the sight of a Holy God, can justify christians in joining hands with the oppressor, hardening their hearts against the cries of the afflicted, and keeping silence when the words of the Benevolent Redeemer are converted into sanctions to a system of gross injustice and cruelty.

The lesson to be gathered from this singular phenomenon is, that slavery cannot long exist without undermining the foundation of moral and religious character. Slavery corrupts those who are the immediate participants in its unholy prerogatives, in the same way that any other sin habitually indulged, vitiates the whole character. And it becomes a source of corruption to christians in the free states, on the principles that they who behold iniquity in silence; who see their brother offend habitually, and yet rebuke him not; who look upon the suffering of the innocent, and yet raise no voice in their behalf; become themselves gradually insensible to the calls of duty and humanity.

CHURCHES IN CINCINNATI.

It is our painful duty to record the determined opposition of the churches in Cincinnati to the anti slavery cause. It is not our business to inquire into their motives, or examine the reasons on which they justify their conduct. The record is enough. Many of the principal churches have been solicited individually by letter, in the most respectful terms, to grant the use of their houses to abolitionists, who might thus have a fair opportunity to disabuse the public mind of wrong impressions in regard to them and their cause. In but one instance, or two at most, has even an answer been deemed necessary. This answer contained a formal refusal. A public request of a similar character was subsequently made through the columns of the Philanthropist, and the number containing it sent to the pastors and leading men of the different churches in the city, but no notice was ever taken of it, and no indication has yet been furnished of a relenting spirit. Every church door is closed to abolitionists. We make no comment. Here is the fact, the naked fact, that in the year of our Lord 1837, in Cincinnati, in the heart of a christian republic, wont to boast of its mental independence, and of the purity of its principles of civil and religious liberty, not a church can be obtained for the purpose of explaining the full meaning of these principles, and relieving the foes of oppression of the grievous calumnies which have been heaped upon them.

SOUTHERN CHURCHES.

As it regards the southern churches, the past year has furnished additional evidences of their deterioration under the influence of sla-

very. It is no longer doubtful, that all the large denominations, with the exception of the Friends, are most deeply involved in the sin of holding human beings as property; and the heresy seems to be rapidly gaining ground among a large majority of professing christians, particularly in the more southern states, that slavery is perfectly defensible on scriptural principles; a sinless, if not a decidedly good ordinance. The proceedings in the General Conference and General Assembly already related, warrant this statement. A few confirmatory facts may farther be introduced.

SCHEME OF SLAVE HOLDING MEMBERS.

According to the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, no slave holder is eligible to any official station in the church, if the laws of the state in which he resides will admit of emancipation and permit the liberated slave to enjoy his freedom. We believe that no slave holder has hitherto been elected to the office of the episcopate in this church. At the last general conference two or three prominent slave holding ministers were run as candidates for this office, and strenuous efforts were made by the southern delegation to elect at least one of them. The attempt was defeated. From subsequent occurrences, it appears, that the vote of the majority was thought by several of the slave holding members to involve an expression of disapprobation of the practice of slave holding. A few months ago a proposition appeared in the Virginia Conference Sentinel, that the southern section of the church should dissolve its connection with the northern, unless at the next General Conference, the system of proscription, as it is termed, should be repealed, and slave holders be permitted to occupy the highest seats in the church. This proposition was sustained with great zeal by the Rev. Mr. Smith, of Richmond, and other southern writers, and so far as we know, has never been opposed by a single individual in the south. If we may judge the southern Methodist church by its representatives in General Conference, we must believe that such a measure would find but few opposers.

REV. JAMES SMYLIE.

During the past year, the Rev. James Smylie, member of the Amite Presbytery, Mississippi, has written a little book in defence of slavery. The Bible is his great, his only argument; and his testimony is, that nine-tenths of all the religious denominations at the south, are direct upholders of this inhuman system, buying or selling, or holding men, women and children as property. His argument and his testimony have thus far been uncontradicted by a single voice in the south.

Further movements in the Presbyterian, and we believe Baptist

churches on the question of slavery, have taken place. Additional resolutions have been passed, upholding the system of slavery, and denouncing the course of those engaged in attempts to abolish it.

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS—DEMANDS OF THE SOUTH.

Political movements connected with the anti slavery cause, deserve special attention. Our enterprise is an ample one. It relates to the whole human family, it touches all their interests, it lays hold of church and state.

It will be recollected, that last year the legislatures of the free states were officially addressed by some of the slave holding governments, on the subject of abolitionism. They were called upon to arrest the progress of abolitionists by legislative interposition.

Some of the states have replied with becoming dignity and spirit, but the response in other instances, without satisfying the south, has been of such a character as can reflect no honor on the governments by which it was given.

VERMONT. Among the former states is Vermont, whose proceedings in relation to the demand, indicate a spirit of freedom unabased by any mixture of servility. Her answer was full, firm and direct.

"*Resolved by the General Assembly of the state of Vermont*, That neither Congress nor the State Governments, have any constitutional right to abridge the free expression of opinions, or the transmission of them through the public mail.

"*Resolved*, That Congress do possess the power to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the district of Columbia.

"*Resolved*, That His Excellency, the Governor, be requested to transmit copies of the foregoing resolutions to the Executive of each of the states, and to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress."

In House of Representatives, Nov. 15, 1836. Resolutions read and passed. A. L. MINER, Clerk.

In Senate, Nov. 16, 1836. Read and resolved to concur.

We are pleased with these resolutions, because they assert the truth, as if the truth were agreeable. No resolutions are appended to blunt their effect or make them palatable to the spirit of slavery.

OHIO. Our own state, Ohio, has given a distinct expression of her views as it regards freedom of discussion. But there is not that spirit of unbending independence in her resolutions, which it may be thought the haughtiness and singularity of the call made upon her, demanded. The following are the resolutions:

"*Resolved, by the General Assembly of the state of Ohio*, That the state of Ohio has no power to legislate on the subject of slavery, and

she disclaims the assertion of any power to interfere with it in other states.

"*Resolved*, That no law can be passed to impair the freedom of the press, except to procure remedy for the redress of private injury, or the breach of public peace resulting from either.

"*Resolved*, That a due regard to justice and the comforts of others, should induce great forbearance in the discussion of subjects which prove disturbing in their nature, or injurious to the peace and quiet of the country.

"*Resolved*, That the governor be requested to transmit to the governors of the several states, a copy of the foregoing report and resolutions, that the same be laid before their respective legislatures."

The resolution disclaiming all right to legislate on slavery in other states, and that inculcating forbearance in the discussion of agitating subjects, are gratuitous, and were probably inserted to qualify the effect which the main resolution was calculated to have on the slaveholder's temper. Gov. McDuffie, in his last annual message, manifests no gratitude for this conciliatory effort. In noticing the result of the appeal of South Carolina to her sister states in the north, he says, "not one of them has taken any step to suppress the injurious practices of which we so justly complained."

New York.—This remark, of course, applies to New York, which promised more, perhaps, than any of the states, and has done as little. Gov. Marcy, in his annual message to the New York legislature of 1835–6, explicitly affirmed the right in the government of a state to enact laws for suppressing the moral movements of its own citizens, when their tendency is to affect injuriously the domestic institutions of other states. The legislature responded to this opinion; and the only reason assigned why such laws were not immediately enacted, was, that the evil had not yet attained such a magnitude as to warrant a resort to legislation. It was stated that public opinion would most probably be sufficient to extinguish the zeal of the "fanatics." Should this fail, the implied promise was, that the aid of legislation would be called in. More than a year has elapsed, within which period abolitionism has greatly accumulated in power, extending with a rapidity unprecedented in the history of a majority of moral revolutions. The legislature of New York has again met, but legislation is still unattempted. The project of penal enactments against abolitionists, if ever seriously meditated, may be considered as entirely abandoned in the state of New York. From the predicament in which she had placed herself in making a pledge to the south she could never redeem, Gov. Marcy attempts to extricate her by a stratagem which can deceive no one who does not wish to be deceived. He affirms that the anti slavery excitement, so soon as it ceased to subserve party

purposes, began to subside; that these "fanatical proceedings" (proceedings of abolitionists) are "circumscribed and rebuked by public opinion," and are of such a character as to furnish no reason "for disquietude here, or alarm elsewhere." The object is to deceive the south into the belief that abolitionism has become so contemptible and insignificant, that the strong arm of legislation is not needed to suppress it.

MAINE.—The action of the legislature of Maine was similar to that of the New York legislature.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—No state, perhaps, has given a more cordial response to the south than New Hampshire. The three leading resolutions which were adopted at the recent session of her legislature, were as follow:

"*Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened*, That we recognize the constitutional right of the several states of the Union to exercise exclusive jurisdiction within their own limits, on the subject of domestic slavery.

"*Be it further resolved*, That congress cannot, without a violation of the public faith, abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, unless upon the request of the citizens of that district, and of the states by whom that territory was ceded to the general government.

"*Be it further resolved*, That as the union of the states can only be maintained by abstaining from all interference with the laws, domestic policy, and peculiar interests of every other state, the conduct of those who would coerce our fellow citizens in other states into the abolition of slavery, by inflammatory appeals addressed to the fears of the masters and the passions of the slaves, is in the highest degree censurable, as tending to alienate one portion of our countrymen from another, and to introduce discord into our sister states, and as a violation of that spirit of compromise in which the constitution was framed, and a due observance of which is necessary to the safety of the Union."

These resolutions are unaccompanied by any reservation in behalf of the sacredness of the right of free discussion; or by a single expression which can indicate that New Hampshire, in thus regarding the peculiar institutions of the south, has not forgotten what is due to her own institutions. The palpable misrepresentation of the measures of abolitionists contained in the last resolution, whether flowing from ignorance or sinister design, is extremely reprehensible; disclosing a lamentable deficiency in that intelligence and candor which should characterize every act of a legislative body. If it be censurable to do that which tends to alienate one portion of our countrymen from another, the New Hampshire legislature is censurable in the highest degree. In assuming that abolitionism is a system of coercion, to be carried into effect by inflammatory appeals addressed to the fears of

the masters and the passions of the slaves, it gives its official sanction to an entirely groundless report, which can have no other effect than to confirm the delusion of slave holders in regard to anti slavery efforts, aggravate their prejudices, and thus delay the hour of universal emancipation. The false statements made at the north by official bodies and influential prints under the pressure of political or commercial motives, have produced an incalculable amount of evil, by misleading the slave-holding states, and by aggravating the excitement, which under other circumstances would have been far more restrained, to such an extent as to disqualify the understanding for the reception of truth. It might be supposed by an unsophisticated mind, that if northern politicians were actuated by a pure regard for their southern brethren, they would be eager to allay their fears by giving them correct representations of the nature and design of abolitionism, instead of out-running even the imagination of a slave holder in their caricatures of this enterprise.

Illinois.—In the legislature of Illinois, the proceedings in relation to the southern memorials, were such as ought not to surprise us. The people of this state for the most part are strangers to the true merits of the anti slavery cause. Their attention has not yet been directed to the subject, and the newspaper notices of it they may have accidentally gathered, are not calculated to bestow very accurate ideas. At the recent session of its legislature, a joint committee of the senate and house of representatives, appointed for the purpose, drew up a report, with resolutions, which were adopted. The report expressed great admiration of the scheme of colonization, enlarged at considerable length on the alarming tendencies of abolitionism, avowed a commendable attachment to the federal constitution, and a fraternal regard for southern rights, and proclaimed the readiness of the people of Illinois, in any needful emergency, to fly to the assistance of their slave holding brethren. The concluding sentence of the report is as follows: "But as your committee are not aware of the extensive existence of abolition societies in this state, they deem a decided expression of opinion all that is at this time demanded." This sentence is only important, as conveying the idea that should abolition societies be extensively organized hereafter within that state, something more than the mere decided expression of opinion would be attempted. Room is thus left to the south to believe that legislative action will be resorted to when necessary, especially as no disclaimer is introduced in any part of the report of a right to legislate for the suppression of the evil complained of. The legislature, in this particular, has followed the example of the assembly of New York. The events of another year will probably tempt it to adopt the same device, which relieved that assembly from the awkard predicament in which its implied pledge of legislation had placed it.

The resolutions adopted by this legislature, are less censurable, in one particular, than the New Hampshire resolutions. They contain no assumption with respect to the nature and design of abolitionism. The resolutions are these:

"*Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Illinois*, That we sincerely deplore the evils of abolition societies, and that we firmly believe their doctrines and proceedings are more productive of evil than moral or political good.

"2d. *Resolved*, That the right of property in slaves is secured to the slaveholding states by the federal constitution, and that they cannot be deprived of that right without their consent.

"3d. *Resolved*, That the institution of slavery, as forming a part of the civil and domestic economy of the slave holding states, consistent with the federal and state constitutions, cannot, and ought not to be interfered with by any independent authority, federal or state, other than those in which the slavery exists; and further, that we are fully convinced that the disturbance of abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, by Congress, would be unwise, injudicious, and highly inexpedient; and that we therefore would much regret to see this institution abolished in that district, and particularly under circumstances threatening danger to the general safety of the slaveholding states and the Union.

"4th. *Resolved*, That the Governor of this state be requested to transmit to the states of Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, New York and Connecticut, a copy of the foregoing report and resolutions.

JAMES SEMPLE, Speaker of the H. R.
WM. H. DAVIDSON, Speaker of the Senate."

LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL ACTION AT THE NORTH.

Other movements in the legislatures of the free states require attention.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—During the last session of the New Hampshire legislature, an event transpired which shows to what an extent this body has departed from the genius of free principles, and what proscriptive measures our enemies are disposed to resort to, in their hatred of abolitionism. The Free Will Baptists petitioned for an act of incorporation for their Home Mission society. The legislature refused it, on the ground, as stated by Mr. Treadwell, that they were a sect, and believed abolition doctrines to be based on the principles of the New Testament. The principle involved in this proceeding is palpably unjust and subversive of the rights of conscience. If the negative punishment of withholding privileges may be justly inflicted on individuals for entertaining peculiar sentiments, there can be no good

reason why, for the same offence, they may not be rightfully subjected to positive penalties. The principle, in fact, would justify any legislature in prescribing to the people their creed in religion or politics, and enforcing it by all the sanctions of law.

MASSACHUSETTS.—The proceedings in the legislature of Massachusetts are perhaps more interesting than any thing we have yet noticed. Petitions during the last session were presented from all parts of the state, praying the legislature solemnly to protest against the action of congress in relation to abolition memorials, and to instruct the senators and request the representatives of Massachusetts in congress to endeavor to procure the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. They were referred to a select committee, who, with a courtesy and liberality becoming the public servants of a free people, permitted G. S. Hilliard and H. B. Stanton to support before them, in speeches of great merit, the prayers of the petitioners. The committee made a brief report, highly honorable to themselves and the state of which they were the representatives, and concluded by recommending the following preamble and resolutions:

"Whereas, the house of representatives of the United States, in the month of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, did adopt a resolution, whereby it was ordered that all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent whatever to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, without being either printed or referred, should be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever should be had thereon; and whereas such a disposition of petitions, then or thereafter to be received, is a virtual denial of the right itself; and whereas, by the resolution aforesaid, which is adopted as a standing rule of the house of representatives, the petitions of a large number of the people of this commonwealth, praying for the removal of a great, social, moral and political evil, have been slighted and contemned: Therefore

Resolved, That the resolution above named is an assumption of power and authority, at variance with the spirit and intent of the constitution of the United States, and injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions; that it does violence to the inherent, absolute and inalienable rights of man; and that it tends essentially to impair those fundamental principles of natural justice and natural law, which are antecedent to any written constitutions of government, independent of them all, and essential to the security of freedom in a state.

Resolved, That our senators and representatives in congress in maintaining and advocating the full right of petition, have entitled themselves to the cordial approbation of the people of this commonwealth.

Resolved, That congress, having exclusive legislation in the District of Columbia, possesses the right to abolish slavery in said district, and that its exercise should only be restrained by a regard to the public good.

For the Committee:

ARTEMAS LEE, Chairman."

The preamble and resolutions were adopted by a vote of 378 to 18. The vote is a plain indication that Massachusetts is beginning to recover her usual healthy tone of feeling in regard to slavery, and that her representatives are determined, even at the hazard of being reproached as abolitionists, not to forget what is due to the cause of freedom and humanity. The qualifying clause in the last resolution, it would have been well to omit.

The Senate concurred unanimously in these resolutions, except the last. This they amended so, that while it affirmed the right of Congress to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the district of Columbia, it also declared that the "early exercise of such right was demanded by the enlightened sentiment of the civilized world, by the principles of the revolution and by humanity." In its amended form, it passed unanimously. The following additional resolution was also passed, only one voting in the negative:

"*Resolved*, That slavery, being an admitted moral and political evil, whose continuance, wherever it exists, is vindicated mainly on the ground of necessity, it should be circumscribed within the limits of the states where it has been already established; and that no new state should hereafter be admitted into the Union, whose constitution of government shall sanction or permit the existence of domestic slavery."

We regret to say that the House refused to concur in these amendments. They considered the original resolutions as sufficient, and these were finally passed by both branches of the Legislature.

In connection with the progress of the anti slavery cause, and the proceedings in congress in relation to John Quincy Adams, on the right of petition, there can be no doubt, that the memorable decision of Chief Justice Shaw, in the case of Med, the little girl claimed as a slave, has had a leading influence in producing that sanative re-action of the public mind, of which the foregoing resolutions are a legitimate result.

This decision has placed Massachusetts on the high ground which every free state ought to occupy. It establishes the principle, that in Massachusetts, there is but a single exception to that organic law which, in every other case, destroys slavery within her limits. That exception is to be found in the provision of the Federal Constitution,

for the re-capture of fugitives from labor. This provision, it was decided, must be construed strictly. It does not extend to the case of a slave introduced by the master voluntarily within the limits of Massachusetts; but is exclusively confined to those instances in which the slave escapes, as a fugitive from a slave state, and is found on her soil.

The decision is highly valuable, and as a precedent, will have great weight in the determination of similar questions that may arise hereafter. In Ohio, the question has not yet been brought before the Supreme Court, so that the point here may be considered undecided. The case of the State of Ohio vs. J. G. Birney, so fully detailed in the Philanthropist, has been taken up to the Supreme Court, and by it referred to the Court in Bank. It is possible a decision on this point may be obtained, although the case is not so suitable a one as might be desirable. Under every aspect, it appears highly important that the Court may speedily have an opportunity of settling this question, and may establish the same principle here as has been proclaimed by the judiciary of Massachusetts.

The Ohio river is a thoroughfare for the emigrant slave holder. Now he not only stops at Cincinnati with his slaves for temporary purposes, but not unfrequently passes with them through the state itself. The effect must be injurious on the moral sense of the community. A decision of the Supreme Court, that the constitutional provision of Ohio in reference to involuntary servitude must always be supreme in all cases, except in the single one already alluded to, of fugitives from labor escaping from slave states, to within her jurisdiction, would exclude these offensive exhibitions and tend to preserve the free principles of her people uncorrupted, and be a peculiarly efficient rebuke to the spirit of slavery. In all the free states bordering on the slave holding regions, it must be obvious, that no lawful means should be neglected of securing their free institutions and the liberal principles of their citizens against the inroads of slavery. An impulse has been given to the public mind in Ohio, on various constitutional questions, affecting the rights of the colored people, which will speedily be communicated to the two neighboring states on our west; and we trust it will never abate until the demands of justice and humanity be satisfied.

New York. Various efforts have been made this year in New York, by the friends of liberal principles, to efface every vestige of slavery from the state. A memorial was presented, couched in respectful language, praying for the enfranchisement of the free people of color, for the repeal of the laws sanctioning slavery, and that the right of trial by jury might be secured to persons claimed as fugitive slaves. The petition, without reference or consideration, was rejected on the spot. We are pleased to record, that a very respectable minori-

ty were opposed to this disrespectful and unusual measure. Petitions of the same character, signed by large numbers of colored persons in Troy, New York city, Brooklyn and Albany, were subsequently presented to the Assembly and referred, with the exception of a single petition, which, after being read, was treated in the same manner as the first petition. The society of Friends also interested themselves in the presentation of similar memorials, which we believe were referred. All these efforts on the part of the friends of equal freedom, were well timed and efficient, and we cannot but believe that the repetition of them will ultimately be crowned with success.

PENNSYLVANIA. The movements in the state of Pennsylvania have been of such a character as to make glad the heart of the philanthropist. The manly tone and fearless sentiments of her Governor's message, contrast nobly with the degenerate spirit or time-serving silence of the executive heads of some of the other free states. They are just such as were required to maintain the honor and independence of a free state against the exactions and encroachments of the slave holding spirit. Governor Ritner's message constitutes an era in the history of abolitionism in Pennsylvania. While it awakened in a large portion of the people of this state their ancient hatred of slavery, it exerted a manifest influence on the press, breathing into it the spirit of free discussion. We regret that the Legislature of this state has fallen short of the noble stand assumed by the Governor. A bill proposing to secure to persons claimed as fugitive slaves, the right of trial by jury, was introduced sometime during the last session in the House, and after giving rise to considerable discussion, was lost. A similar bill was the occasion of far more extended and spirited debate in the Senate, but was finally rejected.

NEW JERSEY. We have seen a brief report in many highly respectable newspapers, that the Legislature of New Jersey has passed a bill of the same kind as that whose rejection in the Pennsylvania Legislature we have just recorded. We have seen only the simple statement; but although we believe it to be a fact, we are not prepared to vouch for its truth. In this state, last summer, an interesting slave case was brought before the Supreme Court, in the trial of which, it was decided; 1st, that color in New Jersey is no presumption of slavery; and 2d, that every person within the state is entitled to a trial by jury. The act of the Legislature and the decision of the Court are clearly in accordance with natural right and the express provisions of the Federal Constitution; but they as clearly conflict with the statute of Congress, enacted to carry into operation the clause in the constitution in relation to fugitive slaves. This statute excludes all trial by jury. We note these facts, because they show that the spirit of liberty still survives, and is active in many of the free states, because they

afford encouragement to the advocates of equal rights, and because they will probably exert a beneficial influence in bringing about a similar reformation in the legislation and judicial administration of other states.

Ohio. Ohio has been the seat of movements similar to those which have taken place in other of the free states. A petition from some of the inhabitants of Clermont county, praying that the right of trial by jury might be secured to every individual within the limits of the state, without exception, was presented to the legislature, and referred to the Judiciary Committee, which reported adverse to the prayer of the petitioners. It was the first petition of the kind, we believe, that has been presented; it was a single petition; the subject of the petition had, perhaps, scarcely engaged the attention of members of the Assembly; and the Committee professed to be ignorant of the prevalence of any abuses under the present system of reclaiming fugitives from labor. All these circumstances are to be considered in connection with the denial of the prayer of the petitioners. When petitions shall have been multiplied, the attention of the Legislature intently directed to the subject, and their eyes fully opened to the unconstitutionality and liability to manifold abuses of the statute, under which an individual almost irresponsible, is constituted the sole judge of the most precious rights of a human being, we have little doubt that the prayer of the petitioners will be satisfactorily answered.

The colored people in Ohio, like their brethren in New York, are beginning to raise a voice in behalf of themselves. Some time during the last winter, they held a meeting at Cleveland, at which they resolved to employ an agent to procure signers to a petition for the repeal of the oppressive laws under which they have so long been suffering. A memorial of this kind from the colored people of Cincinnati, was presented in the Senate by Dr. Price. The Speaker said, as he did not understand that this class of persons had any right of petition by the constitution, he would take the sense of the Senate on the question. A motion was made to receive the petition, which occasioned considerable debate, and was finally laid on the table. We conceive that the Speaker, in this case, manifested a strange misconception of the nature of the right of petition, which is not the product of constitutions or conventional agreements, but inherent in the nature of man. To dispute whether the colored people of the state have a right to petition the Legislature, allowing that the constitution has made no provision in their case, for the securement of the right, is, to say the least, as absurd as if Congress had seriously debated what right the Canadians had to petition that body concerning some matter of commercial intercourse, or what right foreign authors had to peti-

tion the Government of this nation for the passage of an act to secure to them the copy right of their books in the United States.

REVIEW OF POLITICAL ACTION IN THE FREE STATES.

On a review of all these movements, it will be seen that abolitionists have not been inactive. When we contemplate what they have assailed, we cannot but be struck with the minute and extended ramifications of the genius of slavery. In the free states, we behold practices entirely dissonant to the spirit of liberty, and principles utterly repugnant and dangerous to the permanence of free institutions. We are taught by what multiplied channels the system of slave holding in the south has spread its deteriorating influences over the public sentiment of the north; and we are also taught, in how many ways we may not only resist, but efficiently assail this most alarming evil.

POLITICAL ACTION IN THE SOUTH.

The action of the southern states, within the last year, cannot minister much consolation to the slave holder. We do not perceive that their hasty and excessive zeal has yet led to the adoption of any settled line of policy in this, as they term it, alarming emergency. They are as earnest in their denunciations of abolitionists as ever, and their menaces have lost none of their asperity; but, for aught we can see, they are as remote now from any decision as to what they shall do to arrest the progress of abolitionism, and bring the northern states into the condition of silent acquiesence in the perpetuation of slavery, as they were two years ago.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

The governor of South Carolina, in his last annual message, seemed to be deeply impressed with the rapid prevalence of abolition doctrines. He expressed his opinion, that "the great body of the people of the north would finally rally under the banners of the abolitionists, and carry every thing before them at the elections." "The total neglect or silent indifference," with which the appeal of South Carolina had been treated by the northern governments, he considered a plain indication of an alarming state of public opinion at the north, a state altogether unfavorable to southern interests: and he deemed it right that discussion should now end, and South Carolina maintain an attitude of dignified silence and full preparation for the worst. He laid no stress on a southern convention,

but simply suggested that South Carolina should make a solemn, legislative declaration, that congress has no constitutional right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and is under no constitutional obligation to receive petitions from any of the states, having reference to this object; and further, that whenever congress shall pass an act for the emancipation of slaves in the District or in the territories, South Carolina will feel herself absolved from all obligations of the federal compact, and may rightfully and peaceably withdraw from the Union. What has been the action of the legislature in relation to this part of the message, we have no means of knowing.

PROJECT OF LEGISLATION AGAINST ABOLITIONISTS.

From the tone of this message and the movements before mentioned, we conclude, that slave holders and their abettors are becoming convinced that penal enactments, or abridgement of the right of free discussion, can never be resorted to for the suppression of abolitionists. We do, indeed, rejoice to know that the liberty of speech and of the press, is yet too highly venerated by the majority of northern men, to be offered up on the altar of slavery. So plain have become the manifestations of public sentiment, that it would be a hazardous attempt in any legislature in a free state to make a formal attack on this bulwark of free institutions. When we call to mind, however, what alarming concessions have been made under the pressure of slave holding influences, what revelations of corrupt feeling and opinion have taken place in the north, during the severe trials to which abolitionists have been exposed, and how great has been the number of those who, from prejudice, timidity, sympathy with the oppressor, or for the sake of gaining some party ends, have been willing to violate every inalienable right of the adherents to the anti slavery cause, our joy should be mingled with sorrow and mortification. We should take counsel from the past, and remember, that vigilance and unceasing activity alone, under the blessing of heaven, can secure us hereafter against the machinations of our enemies, and finally crown our cause with complete success.

GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA.

To the remark which commenced the foregoing paragraph, we behold a striking exception in the message of the lieutenant governor of Virginia. He still seems disposed to rely on the patriotism of the north, for adopting legislative measures against abolitionists. His late message to the Virginia House of Delegates, bears the marks of a fertile and highly excited imagination. After indulging in a great deal of

poetry concerning the machinations and designs of abolitionists, he states it as his opinion, that if the northern people could be convinced how indispensable to the peace and security of the south was the immediate suppression of the abolitionists, how unreasonable was their peculiar prejudice against any abridgment of the right of free discussion, and how intrinsically proper would be a law to punish those among them who should disturb the tranquillity and safety of other states, they certainly would at once acquiesce in the reasonable demands of slave holders. He therefore advised forbearance on the part of the south, and suggested the propriety of addressing a solemn memorial and remonstrance to the non-slave holding states, admonishing them of the high and inviolable nature of the right of property in human beings—of the malign effects of abolition proceedings on both master and slave—of the jeopardy in which these proceedings placed the Union—of the intrinsic propriety of the measures required by slave holders from their northern brethren—and of the fatal error which infected their minds, in supposing that one goverment lacks power to punish injuries inflicted by its own subjects upon the citizens of another government. "When this shall have been done," he says, "we shall stand acquitted before the world, of the high responsibility we are under to do all in our power to arrest, if possible, the career of a fanaticism, whose march, unchecked, is over-violated faith—the disregarded rights of the south—the wreck of the Union, and the prostrated cause of liberty itself."

If the suggestion of Mr. Robertson be adopted by the House of Delegates, the strange spectacle will be presented, of a slave holding state endeavoring to convince the free states of the intrinsic propriety of virtually abrogating some of the essential principles of their own organic laws, in order to punish their citizens for endeavoring to convince the people of the slave holding states, of the intrinsic propriety of abolishing an institution not essential to liberty, not created by law, but incidentally recognized as lawful. In other words, a grave legislature, in the adoption of such a remonstrance, would stand convicted of the same crime, which they had charged so zealously upon abolitionists—intermeddling with domestic institutions.

Whether Virginia has adopted the suggestion contained in the message, we are not apprised. We are firmly convinced that the proposed memorial and solemn remonstrance would have no other effect than to enlighten northern legislatures on the absurdities to which slavery will lead, and to give an increased prominence and attractiveness to the cause of anti slavery.

SINGULAR MOVEMENT.

A singular movement has recently been made in this Legislature. In a very striking manner it shows, to what extent slave holders will go in the support of their peculiar system; how many and great sacrifices are demanded for its maintenance; and to what desperation they are driven, at least in Virginia, by the efforts of abolitionists. Judge May, on the second of last February, submitted to the House of Delegates an article of proposed amendments to the constitution of the United States. It was ordered to be printed. The amendments in substance were these: that the powers of Congress over the District of Columbia should not be so construed, as to authorize the abolition of slavery in this place without the consent of the proprietors, or of the states of Virginia and Maryland; that its powers for the regulation of internal commerce should not be so construed as to authorize the passage of any act, forbidding the transportation of slaves from one state into any other, in which slavery may exist; that Congress should have power, and it be made their duty to prevent or punish any assemblage or association of persons in one state for the extinction of slavery in any of the other states, and to enact laws against the printing, circulating or transmission by mail of any publications or pictorials, calculated to produce insurrection among slaves.

Slave holders have been led into strange misconceptions of northern sentiment, by the violent anti-abolition excitement which has prevailed at the north. Party spirit, cupidity, prejudice, a blind attachment to the Union, have led citizens in the free states to great lengths in their opposition to abolitionism, and under the influence of such motives their expressions have been signally favorable to the slave holder. But these motives, active as they may have been and still are, would hardly withstand the strong indignation which would be kindled in men of every class at the north, by the serious proposal on the part of the Virginia Legislature, of such an amendment as the foregoing. Whether this body has adopted it for recommendation to other states, believing that three-fourths of the legislatures of these states could be induced to give in their acquiescence, we have yet to learn.

We may easily conceive from the above, what would be the course adopted by Congress against abolitionists, should the slave states ever gain the political ascendency. Nothing is needed but the annexation of Texas to the confederacy, and the ascendency will have been gained. Abolitionists, nay, the entire liberties of the north, will be at the disposal of the southern aristocracy.

LOUISIANA

Presents the same aspect of concern as the other slave states. The committee appointed to consider that part of the governor's message which related to a southern convention, reported that the time had come when the measure was expedient. We do not know whether the report was adopted.

SOUTHERN CONVENTION.

From what we can learn, the most strenuous advocates for a convention are chiefly to be found in the ranks of the nullification party. On the other hand, that part of the people of the south, which maintains a warm attachment to the Union, is hostile to this measure, as one highly inexpedient at the present period. We believe the Unionists up to this time constitute the majority. Add to this fact the confidence of the democratic party in the south in the professions of Mr. Van Buren, concerning slavery in the states and in the District of Columbia, together with their adherence to the Union, and we think there is satisfactory reason for believing that the project of a southern convention will, at least for the present, be deferred. The probability is, that there will always be a diversity of opinion in the south concerning this movement. It will be a topic of discussion and division. And should those who favor it ever gain the ascendency, still the minority will be so large as to counteract, to a great extent, the effects of any rash decision to which such a convention might lead.

ARKANSAS.

The first session of the late Congress witnessed the admission of another slave state into the Union. In Arkansas, the attempt has been made to lay the foundation of slavery so deep that it shall put to defiance every effort for its subversion. If the Legislature should feel disposed to pass an act of emancipation, the consent of the proprietor must first be obtained; if the proprietor himself would release his slaves, he must first obtain legal permission. No plea can justify the conduct of the United States in admitting this member to their fellowship. If slavery be a crime, the act of admission involves us as a nation in its guilt. This act we consider a moral sanction on the part of the whole United States to the system of slavery; for it was in their power to grant or withhold the privileges of the Union. It may be said that the right of Arkansas to be received as a slave state, was secured by the Missouri compromise bill, of 1822. But the compromise no more justifies our conduct in this instance, than one sin can

justify any immoral act, its own legitimate product. The compromise itself, convicts this nation of being a slave holding nation. It was a voluntary surrender, by the free states, of all right on their part—a right which had belonged to them in common with the slave holding states—to prevent the establishment of slavery in any state which might be formed south of a certain line: and it was a pledge on their part to admit into a common fellowship with them such state, no matter how deeply contaminated by the evil of slavery. The surrender and the pledge were alike criminal. The admission of Arkansas cannot, therefore, on the ground of such a surrender and pledge, be justified. It rather augments than lessens the guilt of compromise; seeing it is a new product of it, tends to confirm it, and indicates in the people a persistence in transgression which is inexcusable.

TEXAS.

As the slave holding spirit was gratified the first session of the late Congress, by the addition of another slave state to the confederacy, so this session it has achieved a fresh triumph in the recognition of the independence of Texas. When it is considered that one of the chief causes of the Texan insurrection was an inhibition of slavery by the Mexican Government; that a majority of the actors in it were slave holders, speculators in land, or persons notorious for their scandalous habits; that Mexico had not yet abandoned the design of attacking her revolted province; and that its proximity to the United States; the warm and active sympathy expressed by the nation in its behalf; its identity of feeling, institutions and interests with the slave holding portion of our country; and its avowed desire to be annexed to these states, all rendered our Government peculiarly obnoxious to suspicion; it certainly must appear obvious, that the act of recognition, to say no more, has been hasty and unwise. But to our minds, the proceeding conveys more than this. It is an additional evidence of the predominance of a pro-slavery spirit in the national councils; and additional evidence of the low tone of national sentiment in affairs involving the most precious of human rights. No nation, imbued with a just feeling of regard for suffering humanity, with a noble hatred of oppression, would have been in so great haste to do honor to a government which owed its origin in part, to a love of slavery, and had signalized its attachment to this system of oppression, by making it a part of its first business to establish it throughout its territory. Next year may bring up the question of the annexation of this country to the United States. The general sentiment of the south, for many obvious reasons, is in favor of the measure: public opinion at the north is neither so enlightened nor united on the ques-

tion, as is desirable. If upon no other principle than that of opposing the extension of slavery, abolitionists should unite as one man in the most vigilant and vigorous efforts against it. Whatever may be the result of bringing the question before Congress, we may at least anticipate this benefit from it. It will introduce and subject to the most ample discussion, the whole ground of slavery, and its bearings upon the interests of the north and south. So far then as free discussion will be advantageous, abolitionists, in this instance, will probably have abundant reason for being grateful to slave holders, who, in many cases, have been the instruments, blindly indeed, of eliciting the most severe investigation of their tenure of human "property."

CONGRESS.

Congress during the late session, has been the scene of movements peculiarly interesting to the abolitionist. Petitions for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the district of Columbia, far more numerous than at any former period since the rise of abolitionism, were sent in from all the free states. The number of petitioners counted, was more than one hundred and ten thousand. One among the first of the petitions was fairly received. Objections were raised to the reception of others, but various devices were resorted to with the view of evading a direct vote on the question. Mr. Pinckney's resolution had not extended beyond the limits of the preceding session; and it became necessary, as the petitions poured in upon them, to dispose of them all by a summary process. This process, too, must be one of compromise. The more ardent of the slave holders denied the right of petition on the subject, and demanded that the petitions be not received. A few, chiefly from the north, would have them not only received, but referred to a committee for consideration and report. A third, and the largest part, composed on the one hand of moderate slave holders, and on the other of representatives from the free states, distinguished for their moderate attachment to the principles of liberty, devised a compromise resolution, which, while it maintained the form of the right of petition, denied its power. It was adopted by a large majority, and laid all petitions or memorials, relating in any way to the subject of slavery, on the table, prohibiting all further action thereon. The resolution was obviously a virtual denial of the right of petition. It excluded, according to the construction of the speaker, the reading of the petitions and all debate upon them. The speaker, moreover, assumed to himself, the exclusive prerogative of determining whether any petition presented, did or did not relate to slavery; and in the exercise of this prerogative, he, at one time decided, that a petition against the recognition of Texas came within the action of

the resolution, and at another, that the petition of Lutheran ministers from New York, praying the extension of the principles of the declaration of independence to all persons in the district, was disposed of by the same resolution. By these devices, it is plain, that not only the right of petition, but the freedom of debate in the House was palpably abridged. The object of slave holders was thus obtained. Slavery was not to be exposed to light on the floor of Congress; all discussion was excluded.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

John Quincy Adams, to whom every patriot should freely award the tribute due to wisdom, years crowned with honor, and a love of freedom indomitable, stood forth on this occasion as the champion of rights, so flagitiously assailed. Vast numbers of petitions sent to him from the district he represented, from his own state, and many other free states, were all faithfully presented, one by one, and he left no effort untried to procure for them a fair hearing and respectful attention. His earnest and repeated attempts to be heard on the right of petition, were as earnestly and repeatedly withstood; and it seemed as if Congress had effectually closed the door on all agitation of the exciting question. But vain are the mightiest efforts to hold captive the spirit of free discussion. A door was unexpectedly opened by slave holders themselves. When they least thought of it, they furnished Mr. Adams with the very means by which, at length he accomplished what he had sought and they had avoided, so long and so studiously. A petition was put into his hand, purporting to be from slaves, and praying that he and his associates might be expelled from the House. Whatever might have been the design of this forgery, for such it was, and the device of southern men; whether to deride Mr. Adams, or dare him to present such a petition, that some chance might offer for bringing him under censure, it became in *its* results, a most important circumstance.

Mr. Adams said he held in his hand, a petition purporting to be from slaves, and asked the speaker whether it would come within the action of the resolution already spoken of. The speaker said it was a novel question, and it would be proper to take the sense of the House. The excitement which had been so long pent up, now broke forth. The slave holding members became exceedingly irritated, and blinded by passion, were for adopting the most violent measures against Mr. Adams. In their inconsiderate zeal, they transcended every rule of decorum, and for some time the tumult was so great as to bid defiance to the efforts of the reasonable part of the members to restore order. Censure, and even expulsion were seriously talked of;

and Mr. Waddy Thompson, member from South Carolina, openly threatened him with an indictment, as felon and incendiary, before the grand jury of the district of Columbia! At length censure was solemnly proposed in the form of a series of resolutions, as a punishment by no means too severe for such an outrage as Mr. Adams was affirmed to have committed. The absurdity and injustice of a majority of the slave holding members, were strikingly illustrated by the fact, that the reprobatory resolutions proposed to censure an individual for *presenting* a petition from slaves for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia, when neither did the petition pray for this object, nor as yet had it been presented. Their defects soon became so palpable, that amendment upon amendment was suggested, until at length they were so framed as, while they involved questions bearing upon the right of petition, to cast only implied censure on Mr. Adams.

This gentleman now claimed to be heard in his own defence. He had been the subject as well as occasion of all the resolutions brought forward, and it was but bare justice that he should have the privilege of speaking in his own behalf. The privilege, although not without considerable opposition, was granted; and, in a masterly effort, he not only fully sustained himself and exposed the absurdities of his antagonists, but set forth in a peculiarly lucid and conclusive manner, the grounds and true nature of the right of petition. After a great deal of animated debate, in which many of the northern members and certain of the Virginia and Kentucky delegations, manifested an ardent and generous zeal on the side of truth and freedom, the resolutions were lost by an overwhelming majority.

DEEP EXCITEMENT.

After the failure of the resolutions, a deep excitement pervaded the ranks of the slave holding members. They affected to believe that the vote of Congress was a virtual declaration of the right of petition in slaves. Party spirit now began to operate, party fears were awakened, and it was thought proper to make some conciliatory movement. The rejected resolutions were called up for reconsideration; and, after being so amended as to convey not the slightest imputation against John Quincy Adams, as to affirm that slaves have not the right of petition secured to them by the federal constitution, and also to declare the reception of petitions from slaves opposed to the dignity of the House, the rights of the south, and the constitution of the United States, they were passed.

The first vote we consider to be the true exponent of the opinions of a large majority of the House. It was a vote taken during a state of feeling, in which members, for a time, stood emancipated from the

shackles of party. The second vote, we have little doubt, was chiefly sustained on party grounds. Members had descended from that elevated tone of sentiment which so well became them as the representatives of freemen, and once more submitted their minds to the uniform and discipline of party.

THE DEBATE BENEFICIAL.

We have been thus particular in our notice of this proceeding, because we conceive it has exerted and is destined still to exert an important influence on the prevalence of anti slavery principles. The discussion elicited by it, has served still further to demonstrate the deadly hostility of the genius of slavery to all those rights which are consecrated in the hearts of a free people; and the demonstration has been made precisely where it was most needed—in the national council, before the eyes of men almost blinded by motives of expediency and partisan partialities; before the eyes of the whole nation; in the view of the entire civilized world.

This discussion has taught slave holders that even their most zealous friends at the north cannot sympathize with them beyond a certain limit; that they have not yet rid themselves of the idea that slaves are men; and that hardened as these friends may be by political contests, blinded as they are by party ambition, there is a point beyond which even they will rise up in resistance to the exactions of the slave holding spirit. Plain indications were also given that the south is not a unit; that many of her representatives are hostile to all attempts at disunion; and that southern menaces are apt to abate, when the north speaks out in that tone which its dignity and security demand.

Above all, this discussion has placed abolitionism in the estimation of a large portion of the community, on a higher ground than it was thought to occupy before. It has made it more clearly and widely apparent than ever, that the principles of abolition are identical with the essential principles that lie at the basis of social organization in the north; and that slavery, in its attacks upon the former, becomes the bold invader of the latter.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

The course pursued by Mr. Van Buren in relation to abolitionism, ought not to create surprise. For the pledges made to the south in his inaugural message and the tone of his remarks concerning the present anti slavery excitement, we were fully prepared by reference to previous acts in his political career. This message will hardly be a serious obstacle in the way of abolitionists, although the tone in which he

speaks of the outrages to which they have been subject, will undoubtedly instigate their persecutors to additional violence.

The fact will stand out as a curious one on the page of history, that in the nineteenth century, the only pledge the newly elected President of the freest republic on earth deemed it expedient to make with a view of retaining and gaining adherents was, to perpetuate the slavery of six thousand human beings, even in direct opposition to a majority in both the legislative branches of the Goverment. How strongly this fact bespeaks the infection of our republic, by the spirit of slavery, we leave every one to judge for himself.

PERSECUTION.

During the past year, the spirit of persecution has displayed itself in aggravated outrages against abolitionists, in various parts of our country, but especially in this state. The narrative of the operations of the Cincinnati mob is already before the public. The violent proceedings against our press, and members of the Executive Committee constitute an example of a cool, deliberate, systematic invasion of private right and public peace, almost without a precedent in the history of this republic. They were not the result of impulse, not the sudden, unpremeditated outbursts of popular fury. Men of every class, every degree, of most dissimilar habits, religious and irreligious, were deeply concerned in them. Party differences were laid aside; sectarianism forgot her jealousies, and men who had never mingled together before, felt an unwonted sympathy with each other in the common determination to arrest the publication of the Philanthropist.

PREDISPOSING CAUSE OF MOBS.

The predisposing cause of mobs in all countries, is the licentiousness of the populace. There is a certain class in every community to whom the restraints of law and good order are irksome. They rejoice to be unfettered, and their delight is to work mischief. So long, however, as the better classes manifest a wholesome regard for the laws and a determined abhorrence of the slightest trespass upon them, licentiousness is held in check. But let them, in any case, speak lightly of legal restraint, indulge prejudice or hatred to such an extent that it becomes apparent, they prefer tumultuous violence to the undisturbed prosperity of the objects of their dislike, and presently the effect of such conduct begins to be visible. The multitude take the hint, are agitated, give indications of meditated outrage, and then rush forth in a career of open violence. Recent experience in this country has demonstrated that the conservatism of our better classes

is not impeccable, and that an American populace is as liable to commotion as the populace of the most corrupt countries.

OTHER CAUSES.

But additional circumstances must be taken into consideration, in explaining the frequency and virulence of the mobs against abolitionists. The two leading causes which operate on the more respectable portions of the community, so as to induce them, at times, virtually to proscribe and outlaw the advocates of anti slavery, are interest, and prejudice against the colored man. With the populace, interest has less to do than prejudice and a blind attachment to the Union. When unenlightened, idolatrous regard for the Union has indeed been actively operative on men of high and low degree, inducing them to entertain feelings of strong animosity towards abolitionism, which they have imagined to be a scheme subversive in its tendencies of the integrity of this republic.

CINCINNATI.

In Cincinnati, the action of all these causes was peculiarly manifest. Its commerce, in various ways, is intimately and extensively involved with the south, and within a short period preceding the mob, plans were in progress to multiply and strengthen its commercial connections with the southern markets, so that a strong pecuniary interest rose up against the agitation of any question which threatened to disturb the harmony between the city and her southern neighbors. The strife which then prevailed between the two great political parties, each party endeavoring to conciliate southern favor by its severe reprobation of abolitionism, augmented the existing excitement against abolitionists. Add to these circumstances the common feeling of prejudice against the negro, and we have a fair representation of the leading motives, so far as we can judge, which prevailed on many of the influential citizens of Cincinnati to adopt a system of proscription against abolitionists. This prejudice, it should be remarked, is peculiarly strong in Cincinnati, from obvious causes. The city is greatly southernized in feeling by its proximity and multiplied relations to the slave holding states, and a considerable part of its population is composed of emigrants from those states, who bring with them their accustomed ideas of the negro's degradation. We will not say that other and less inexcusable motives had no share in the instigation of the outrages against our press. Undoubtedly, a few might have believed that a just regard for the interests of the south and for the

preservation of the federal Union warranted a resort to violence, in order to suppress abolitionism.

RESULT.

All these malign influences had their appropriate effect. Abolitionists were hated, reviled, misrepresented and proscribed. Their schemes were denounced as incendiary, revolutionary, destructive of the vital interests of the nation, subversive of the Union, calling loudly for the efficient, counteracting interposition of every true patriot. Suitable measures were taken to arouse the prejudice and indignation of the populace. Abolitionists were stigmatized as a few, obscure interlopers, foreigners hostile to our institutions, traitors with hands defiled by British gold, amalgamationists, &c. The political papers of the city, with a single exception, teemed with abuse, and one press was untiring in its advocacy of a resort to popular violence. Its incendiary voice was unrebuked; the spirit of toleration seemed to have forsaken the community. Midnight placards were posted up, in ominous language, warning abolitionists to desist from the prosecution of their enterprise; and at one time a handbill appeared, offering a reward, in peculiarly offensive terms, for the person of a member of the executive committee. All this passed unrebuked by a single token of disapprobation in any portion of the community.

Under such powerful stimulants, the licentious spirit of the multitude was fully aroused. The result is known. A public meeting was called; influential citizens were present and engaged in its proceedings. A mob followed; respectable citizens had adopted a course of conduct that inevitably led to it, and yet declined to interpose to arrest its career of violence.

BRIEF REVIEW.

The first thought that strikes the mind, on a review of the various occurrences we have noticed, is the multiplicity of objects which engage the attention of abolitionists. A little reflection will suffice to show that, in attending to such objects, they have in no degree diverged from their original, great design—the extinction of slavery. The effects of this evil are not confined to the slave holding region, but are felt in many ways throughout the free states, and their existence here clearly tends to energize and perpetuate the whole system. To direct effort to the removal of the effects, is one of the best means of circumscribing and finally extinguishing the system itself. Abolitionists believe that the corrupting influences of slavery are to be seen in the silence of a majority of the northern churches in relation to sla-

very, and the absolute recession of many of them from the noble ground they once maintained on this subject; in the refusal of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and its virtual denial of the right of petition as it regards this legitimate subject; in the present mode of recapturing fugitives from labor; in the unjust and oppressive laws of many of the states against colored citizens; in the proscriptive legislation in some places against abolitionists; and in the meditated invasion of their most sacred rights under legal forms, and the actual invasion of them by mobs. In these and many other ways, has the spirit of slavery been actually operating, and in these ways it is to be met and repelled. Let the entire church in the free states be redeemed from all compromise with slavery—let its anathemas be uttered without reservation and without ceasing against the entire system of oppression—let Congress entertain petitions for the emancipation of slaves within the limits of their constitutional jurisdiction, and remove the evil complained of—let the right of trial by jury be secured to the person claimed as a fugitive slave—let color no longer be a badge of infamy, a presumption of slavery, or a bar to citizenship—let the right of assembling together to consult for the common good, the liberty of speech and of the press, and the sacredness of the mail, no longer be menaced by legislatures or outraged by popular fury—and let it be known to the holder of slaves that the very moment he causes his slave to put his foot on any part of the free soil of the north, that moment "his chains fall off and slavery expires;" and it is plain, southern slavery would be shaken to its very foundation; the year of jubilee to the captive could not long linger.

All these, then, are legitimate objects. They are objects which abolitionists, if they would be consistent, must not cease to contend for.

AN APPROPRIATE ANSWER.

The review furnishes an appropriate answer, we conceive, to the charge made against abolitionists of interfering with the domestic institutions of the south. Slavery first interfered with the domestic institutions of the north. It has no attribute that can harmonize with the exemplifications of free principles; and in every possible mode it has alloyed the spirit of northern liberty, perverted the application of principles acknowledged to lie at the basis of northern institutions, and corrupted the sentiments of northern people. Slavery has been the aggressor, and abolitionism is, in reality, a scheme of defensive warfare against its inroads. It assails slavery, because it has been the aggressor; it assails it, because its influence must ever be destructive to the liberty of the north; it assails it, because in pleading for the

emancipation of the slave, it becomes the strong tower of the liberties of the free.

We also learn that this proud republic requires regeneration. The principles on which her political institutions are based, are almost faultless in character; the same cannot be said of her practices. The business of abolitionists is to strike at those corruptions in legislation or policy which do not conform to the beautiful theory of our social organization—to make this republic as free in fact, as it is in hypothesis. Our report shows in how many points the primary principle, that all men are created free and equal, has failed to exert its legitimate influence on the social condition of even the free states; and how diversified and ardent have been the labors of abolitionists to bring this principle to bear universally. In many, in nearly all the instances mentioned, they have been at once defeated and victorious. They have not gained the points contended for, but they have made rapid advances towards them. Only let these efforts be as steady as they have been timely and ardent, and we shall soon have to record, that the legislation of our country, instead of being inequitable and inconsistent, is pervaded by that wisdom which is without partiality and hypocrisy.

CONCLUSION.

Your committee, in conclusion, would say, that while in the aspect of the times they see much to awaken the liveliest concern and zeal, they see nothing to depress the hopes of the true philanthropist. They will not venture the opinion that the severest conflict is over. They deem it not improbable, that more fearful perils await abolitionists than any that have yet befallen them. The spirit of persecution is still active in nearly all the free states, and in Ohio it has recently displayed itself in acts of a peculiarly ferocious character. But its very ferocity furnishes ground for the belief that its reign will be short. The reaction of the virtuous mass of the community will be speedy in proportion to the proscriptive violence of the mob. However numerous and severe the trials that may be in reservation for us, we still have sufficient confidence in the strength of the awakening virtue of the people of the free states, in the fortitude of abolitionists, in the power of truth, and, above all, in the ruling energy of an all wise God, to believe that the despotism of the majority will speedily be overthrown, and that, within a comparatively short period, the doctrines and spirit of abolitionism will pervade the mass of the people in the non slave holding states. We are not willing to ascribe the strenuous opposition in these states, encountered by the anti slavery cause, to any affection for the principle of slavery; nor do we construe it into

an indication of a general disaffection to free principles. Misconception of the true nature of abolitionism, excess of sympathy for the slave holder, and other more reprehensible motives, may, during the paroxysm of excitement, have impelled to the public expression of sentiments and feelings, peculiarly humiliating to the sincere and enlightened patriot. But this is an unnatural condition of things: it cannot endure long. Abolitionism will soon be better understood; inordinate sympathy for the slave holder will not long mislead the citizens of the free states. The people of the north and west will yet rally with fresh devotion around their free institutions, prizing liberty the more, that, in an hour of unnatural excitement, they had been beguiled into an apparent approbation of American slavery. In some places, as we have seen, this wholesome reaction has already commenced. One year ago, in Massachusetts, the anti abolition excitement would have prevented the passage of the resolutions, adopted at the last session of its legislature, protesting against the course of Congress in relation to abolition petitions. The people of other states will soon perceive the absurdity of permitting their hatred of abolitionism to lessen their attachment to their own institutions, or to induce neglect of the means necessary to secure them against insult and injury. When they shall thus have recovered their wonted tone of feeling, then may we expect that the anti slavery cause will be known, valued and embraced according to its real merits.

STATEMENT OF THE LOCAL OPERATIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI SLAVERY SOCIETY.

It is proper to make a brief statement of the operations of your committee from the time of their appointment up to this period.

In pursuance of a resolution of the society at its last anniversary, an arrangement was effected, May 3, 1836, with Mr. Birney, publisher of the Philanthropist, by which this paper became the property and the organ of the Anti Slavery Society of Ohio, under the editorial management of its former proprietor. The cost of its printing, at this time, was not above the ordinary rates.

Measures were taken immediately after the adjournment of the society, for the publication of its anniversary proceedings. Two thousand copies were published of the full report of its proceedings,

including Rankin's Address to the Churches, and Thome's Address to the Ladies of Ohio. Each of these Addresses was also published, in a separate form, to the extent of three thousand copies.

In the judgment of the committee, it was thought expedient to establish, in Cincinnati, a depository for the more effectual dissemination of anti slavery principles, through the medium of books, pamphlets and papers. With this view, the stock of publications on hand at the Depository of the Cincinnati Anti Slavery Society, was purchased, and orders were forwarded to the American Anti Slavery Society, at New York, for a various assortment of books, &c. which were subsequently received.

During the session of the general conference in Cincinnati, the very interesting proceedings took place, to which allusion has already been made. The Rev. Orange Scott delivered, on this occasion, a speech, which he subsequently reported, together with a brief account of so much of the debate as was connected with it. The speech possessed great merit; and in view of the influence it would probably exert on members of the conference and of the Methodist church generally, the committee felt themselves warranted in publishing it. One thousand copies were printed in pamphlet form, and for the most part distributed gratuitously.

Subsequently, a report of the whole debate on the subject of modern abolitionism in this body, was published from notes taken on the spot by the present editors of the paper. In this measure, the committee felt themselves justified, when they considered the singular developments to which the debate gave rise, and the probable effects it would have on the community, by reason of the commanding position occupied by the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was printed in pamphlet form to the number of three thousand copies.

In the latter part of July, a number of persons at midnight, broke into the building in which our printer had placed his press, and injured this so much, that a new one became necessary. The sum required for procuring it was advanced by the committee. Not long after the printing office and depository were destroyed by a mob, which occasioned great loss to the committee.

The committee now resolved to suspend the publication of the Philanthropist, until circumstances should warrant its resumption. Meanwhile a narrative of the riotous proceedings, anterior to, and accompanying the destruction of the press, was prepared and published by the committee, in pamphlet form. Four thousand copies of it were struck off, and a large portion of them distributed gratuitously.

In the interval, also, the committee engaged, as lecturers on anti-slavery, the Rev. James H. Dickey, and the Rev. David Eastman. The former operated for two, and the latter for three months, the salary of

each being at the rate of $600 per annum and travelling expenses. We have reason to believe that their labors were attended with good effect.

At length, in September, the resumption of the publication of the Philanthropist was resolved on. Mr. Pugh was again employed; but prudence, as well as the impossibility of procuring a suitable house for printing operations, owing to the unwillingness of people to risk their property for anti slavery purposes, induced the committee to select Springborough, Warren county, as the most eligible place for the mechanical execution of the paper. The expenses incurred by the removal of the printing apparatus to this place, and its subsequent return to Cincinnati, were considerable. The cost of printing was also increased, incidental expenses were multiplied, and as the paper was still mailed in Cincinnati, its delivery in this place was a source of an additional weekly expense. The cost and inconvenience at length became so burdensome, that the committee deemed it advisable to close the contract, and compensate the printer for any damages he might suffer from such a measure. The damages were estimated at $200, by arbitrators, which sum was rendered to Mr. Pugh without delay.

Very soon after the resumption of the publication of the Philanthropist, at the request of Mr. Birney, and by the appointment of the executive committee, the present corresponding secretary of the society, was associated with the senior editor, in the editorial management of the paper, and he was also commissioned to superintend the business concerns of the society. C. K. Bushnell had been previously employed in the Depository, and G. Bailey had been appointed corresponding secretary, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of A. Wattles. Both these were employed at regular salaries—C. K. Bushnell at $1400, and G. Bailey at $600 per annum.

A new printer was now engaged; but as the committee had concluded not to suffer themselves in future to be trammelled by guarantees, they found it necessary to substitute a weekly per centage on the bill rendered by the printer, as an equivalent for his risk. The per centage increased very considerably the cost of publication; but as it was to terminate at the end of six months, they thought it would be better than to grant a guaranty, which would lay them more open to the assaults of the mob.

About this time, Dr. Channing addressed a letter to Jas. G. Birney, with which the society is already acquainted. Under the impression that an extensive circulation of this letter would be productive of much benefit, a large pamphlet edition of it was printed.

Sometime in March, Mr. Donogh, our printer, becoming dissatisfied at the terms on which he had engaged to print the paper, desired a guaranty against damages. This was refused, the connexion between us dissolved, and new printers were engaged, the same who are now

employed in the execution of the paper. These print without per centage or guaranty; but owing to the smallness of the type they use, and the consequently greater amount of matter contained in the paper, the cost of printing is a few dollars higher than it would otherwise be.

The last publication of your committee is the speech of Mr. Chase, in the recent slave case in Cincinnati, of which a full account has been given in the columns of the Philanthropist. This speech they considered a sound and vigorous argument, well calculated to enlighten the public mind, on various important constitutional questions, affecting the re-capture of fugitive slaves, and the rights of our colored citizens; and to prepare the way for the establishment of the right of trial by jury IN ALL CASES, and a repeal of the oppressive statutes in relation to the free people of color. A pamphlet edition of two thousand copies was issued, and distributed extensively, not only in Ohio, but in the two states west of it, as well as in other states.

In December last, the state of the treasury made it necessary to employ a financial agent. M. R. Robinson was employed in this character by the committee at the usual salary, with instructions to collect unredeemed pledges, obtain donations, procure subscribers to the Philanthropist, and by lecturing, and in every proper way, promote the interests of the anti slavery cause in this state. So faithfully did he perform the duties of his appointment, and so important was such an agency, that on the expiration of the term for which he was appointed, his commission was renewed, and he is now in the employment of the committee.*

It now remains that we should inform the society of the institution of legal proceedings against the rioters engaged in the destruction of the press last summer. Suits were commenced in the course of the last fall, and counsel employed. The trials, it is supposed, will come on at the June term of the court of common pleas for Hamilton county. This measure was enjoined by a regard to future security, as well as to the interests of the society, of whose property the committee were the trustees.

The executive committee have not been idle. They have contended, and are still contending under great disadvantages, against a strong and almost relentless opposition, for the maintenance of their position and operations in Cincinnati. They trust that the simple statement they have given of the objects to which they have appropriated the monies of the society, will be at once satisfactory to members, and a motive with them to prompt and liberal contributions.

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* Mr. Robinson having resigned immediately after the anniversary, Mr. Weed is now acting in his place.

OF THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE COLORED PEOPLE IN CINCINNATI, BY AMZI D. BARBER, APRIL 27, 1837.

The writer of this report feels it a duty that he owes to himself, the colored people, and the friends of the schools, to say he never expected o be called upon to make a statement of this kind; hence he has not kept a record of facts that would have been highly interesting.

For an account of the oppressive laws, cruelties, frauds, and disabilities of various kinds, to which this class of the community have been subject—owing to a cruel and relentless prejudice, and to the ignorance and weakness of this people, as a whole—individuals are referred to the Putnam report of 1835. On these subjects that report is a valuable document.

Although it is *true*, in every particular, yet so far as it relates to the character of the people, it presents only the *bright side* of the picture. Their character, *then*, had not been fully developed. That report was made before the novelty of elevation had passed off.

Having been shut up in the prison of oppression—shrouded in mental and moral darkness, as might be expected, the sunlight of kindness, science and religion, dazzled their eyes. Every energy was aroused, and every nerve exerted. But the novelty has passed away: it is *now* a *sober reality*. To break up old habits and form new ones—to give up long cherished prejudices—to subdue and bring into happy subserviency the passions, so long nurtured by oppression—to act from principle instead of impulse—to root out growing jealousy and cold-hearted neglect, and to cherish brotherly love, kindness, meekness, benevolence and humility; is a work that calls for *self-denying*, *persevering* and *protracted effort*. It is no trivial affair to pluck out *right eye sins*. Many were willing to follow the Saviour, when hosannah'd by the multitude; but when they found that they must give up *all* for Christ, "they walked no more with him." Thus we might expect it would be with the colored people. When they supposed their friends were about to take them in their arms, and *carry* them up the hill of elevation, their united voice was "*we will go*;" but when they understood that they must *climb* the ascent—must "*toil and be strong*;" some said "this is a hard saying, who can hear it?" It is not meant by this that the colored people have ceased to regard the teachers as their friends, or to repose confidence in them. Far from it. During the "reign of terror" in Cincinnati, the President of a certain society was bribed to attach the names of the members of the society to some odious resolutions, severely censuring the

abolitionists, and wishing them to have no more to do with the colored people. Never was there a more indignant people. A meeting of the society was immediately called, the president expelled, and a disclaimer published in the city papers, although by so doing they endangered their property and lives.

What we mean is this:—that some of the colored people love their sins too well to be elevated. It would require a moral earthquake to induce some of them to arouse from their lethargy, and put away their iniquities.

Slavery and the northern prejudice constitute a *high school* for the cultivation of *deceit and every evil passion*. The institution is liberally endowed, and well furnished with professors and apparatus. As the various arts of deception and the cultivation of the passions, are the *only* sciences taught, as might be expected, the pupils are thoroughly versed in these studies.

Such has been the school in which this class of our citizens has been trained. If we sow to the passions, is it strange that we should reap a crop of the same? Those who come from the south to attend school, are more irritable than those who live at the north. They seem to think it a disgrace, not to revenge an insult, and any little thing is construed into an insult. Parents seldom correct, save in a passion. As *they* were governed by physical force, they know no other method to secure the obedience of their children, but to make them fear the whip. They seem almost entirely ignorant of *moral power*. They do not seem to know that mind was designed to be moved by motive. Children have been taught to return blow for blow. A woman from the South, who came to send her daughter to school, said to her when about to separate, "Now, if you let any body whip you, except the man with whom you board, and your teacher, without FIGHTING them, I will whip your skin off when you come home." What can we expect when children are thus taught! And *whence did this mother derive her system of government and instruction?*

There is a great want of confidence in each other. This presents a serious obstacle in the way of their improvement, and greatly aggravates their sufferings. I have known two or three evenings spent until 12 o'clock at night, in church meeting, settling some little trifling affair that people in general would not notice. Their sympathies are dried up, conscience smothered, and the heart calloused. In short, the whole machinery of the soul, instead of presenting that beautiful symmetry and harmony which it originally exhibited, now presents the most *frightful disorder and discord.*

This is but a faint picture of the condition into which the withering influence of *slavery* has brought this people; and these are a *few* of the obstacles with which we have had to contend.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE.

Schools.—One of the present teachers has been employed in this field one year and six months, and the others nine months. Hence we cannot give a definite report of all that has been done since 1835, as we mean to testify only to what we have *seen* and *known*.

Since January 1, 1836, five teachers have been employed a part, and four all the time. Some of the schools have been discontinued for several weeks during the past year for want of suitable school rooms. At length, the education society fitted up an old house, but it is in a very unhealthy place and the rooms quite too small to accommodate those who wish to attend. Forty or fifty pupils are crowded into a room twenty-two by sixteen feet, and about seven feet high.

In giving a report of the schools, we wish it to be distinctly understood that we are not giving an account of the same pupils that were spoken of in the report of 1835. Brother Wattles, who then taught the school for boys and young men, visited the school now kept for the same class, and out of seventy pupils, found only *five* that attended his school. This constant change of scholars is one of the most serious obstacles under which we labor.

Many of the parents are *poor*, and unable to continue their children in school, consequently, they are sent on the *river*, and exposed (as all know) to the *most pernicious* influences.

About *three hundred* scholars have been taught within the past year, forty of whom were from the south. Not more than one hundred and sixty, however, have attended in any one term. During the last quarter, one hundred and thirty-one have attended.

It requires much more labor to teach the schools, than it *would* if the *same* pupils could be kept in school.

In order to give an accurate account of the progress of the schools, we should have to give a separate report of each quarter.

Report of A. D. Barber's School, commencing January 1st, 1836, to April 1st, 1837.

	Whole No.	Reading.	Writing.	Geography.	History.	Arithmetic.
1st Term,	45	16	10	5	3	16
2d "	55	40	30	8	12	18
3d "	60	50	31	8	16	30
4th "	65	50	30	Geo. & His.	20	35
5th "	75	50	35	2	18	35

Number of different scholars, during this time, one hundred and sixty-one.

As the other schools have frequently changed teachers, we cannot give so definite a report. The school for young women was taught by Miss Matthews and Miss Lowe until July, succeeded by Miss

Rakestraw, (subsequently Mrs. Robinson) assisted, successively, by Emily Smith and Florilla A. Wright.

Report as follows:

	Scholars.	Reading.	Writing.	Geo. & His.	Grammar.	Arithmetic
1st and 2d terms, not known.						
3d term,	60	40	30	20	2	25
4th "	56	40	28	20	9	26
5th "	56	34	24	16	6	19

Whole number of different pupils one hundred and sixty-one.

The Infant School was taught by Miss Bishop until June, and succeeded by Harriet Hunter, (formerly a pupil in Miss Matthews' school,) and subsequently by Emeline McConnell, Florilla Wright, and for the last term by Samuel Webster, a colored young man, educated by President McGuffey.

	Scholars.	Read.	Write.
1st and 2d terms not known.			
3d term,	40	20	6
4th "	40	20	5
5th "	25	13	4

Many facts might be stated relative to the progress of the pupils; a few, however, will serve as a specimen.

One young woman learned her letters in less than a day, and in six months could read in easy lessons with tolerable facility. Ten or twelve learned to write, quite legibly, in six weeks, and pursued their studies at the same ti[illegible]:

One girl, fifteen or sixteen years of age, wrote a letter to her mother within *ten* days after she first took her pen in hand to learn. She found some difficulty, at first, in making it readable, but soon saw the difficulty consisted in not having her "words stand by themselves." This she remedied, and succeeded in writing her letter with tolerable accuracy. Boys, *seven* or *eight years* of age, have, in several instances, learned their letters in two days, and spelt in three syllables and read in easy lessons by the close of the quarter. Several married people have attended school, and it is affecting to see most of them study. They seldom look off their books, except to hear some [illegible] or explanations from their teacher. One man, about thirty-five years of age, came to school in the morning, and was asked if he had got his lesson. "I don't know," was his reply, "I studied a [illegible] it. I sot up last night and got up a great while before day."

One old woman would rise early, do a day's washing, and go to school in the afternoon.* And here we wish to be distinctly understood

* One teacher said "I never knew a class succeed better in explaining the sums in Colburn's Arithmetic, than one in the school for young women."

stood. Intelligent men and teachers from the country have assured us that our scholars are more forward than those of the country schools. Gentlemen, who attended the examination of the city schools, after hearing a class of colored boys, declared that they passed a better examination than those of the same age in the city schools. Yet we do not suppose that they learn any faster, generally, than white children. We find idle, reckless scholars here, as well as in other schools. For instance: one young woman said she did "not love to come to school, or to study. She came only to please her mother." Her actions corroborated her statement, and her conduct was such that she was expelled from the school. The same motives that influence other minds will influence theirs. One year ago, it was no uncommon thing to have two or three cases of quarreling in a *week;* now, I have not had that number for the last six months. During that time, not a case has occurred, except with scholars just entered the school. There is a manifest change in the disposition of my pupils. When the white boys used to throw brick-bats and missiles at them, they returned the same. Now they have learned a more excellent way to put down their enemies—the gospel method of *loving them to death.* This method, they find, succeeds much better than the former. *Love* has done what *force could never do.* They are very seldom molested now, and when they are, they pay no attention to it, but pass on.

The following extract from a composition written by a boy thirteen years of age, (of his own accord) shows how they now feel about rendering evil for evil.

"When we go to and from school, we ought not to play by the way nor throw stones in the streets; we might accidentally strike some persons and injure them very much, and then we might get into some difficulty. When the white boys try to raise a fuss with us, we ought to go along like we do not hear nor see them, then they will get quite sick of doing such things."

RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES.

From the 1st of January, 1836, to the 1st of November, our friends contributed $423 61 cents; and the Education Society paid for the same time $401—making in all $824 61 cents.

The schools in debt for expenses incurred the previous year, 1835,	$200 60
Expenses for rent, fuel, &c. for 1836,	289 29
Amount,	489 29

This subtracted from the whole amount raised, ($824 61,) leaves

$355 32 cents for the teachers, or about seven dollars and a half per month for each teacher to pay expenses of *board* and *clothing*.

About the first of November, new arrangements were made, by which the Education Society pledged themselves to pay $600 for the support of schools for the ensuing year. In pursuance of this arrangement, the Education Society have paid the schools, from the 1st of November up to the 15th of April, 1837, $218; and we have received from friends, during the same time, $77 92, making $295 92. Rent, fuel, and other necessary expenses, $90, leaving $205 92, or *six dollars eighty-six cents* per month to each teacher for board and clothing. This has been insufficient, and one of the teachers has been under the necessity of instructing in a white school, one hour per day, to keep clear of debt.

The whole amount raised by the colored people for 1835, was only $150. But on the first of January, 1836, they formed an Education Society, the object of which, as set forth in the constitution, "is the support of schools and the education of orphans and destitute children." "Individuals of both sexes shall be admitted as members of this society. The males by paying the sum of one dollar and the females by paying fifty cents." Besides this, each male member pays twenty-five cents per month, and each female twelve and a half cents, making three dollars a year for each male member, and one dollar and fifty cents for each female.

An executive committee is appointed by the society to receive tuition in advance at two dollars per quarter, and give tickets of admission. The whole amount raised by this society, from its formation up to the present time, (including tuition of scholars,) is $794 33. The business has been conducted wholly by themselves, and with an ability and regularity that would do honor to any society. The society is increasing in numbers, influence and usefulness.

Besides supporting the schools, the people have erected a neat and commodious church within the last year, and yet it is believed they own more property than they did one year ago. There is more industry and less extreme poverty. It is one of the best signs indicative of their elevation, to see them leaving the corrupting influences of the city and river, and engaging in agricultural and mechanical employments. Above twenty have purchased land in Mercer county.

TEMPERANCE.

The cause of temperance, we believe, has been slowly but gradually advancing. As the secretary has lent the constitution of the society, I am not able to state definitely the number of members, but think there are about three hundred. Lawyer Starr, after hearing the report

for last year, said it was the most interesting report he had heard during the year. This society forbids the use of *all* intoxicating drinks. Some have broken their pledge, and will be expelled unless they reform. Several others who were habitual drunkards, are now sober, industrious men, and provide well for their families.

A gentleman asked two colored men, the other morning, if they would not like to buy some cheap spirits. "No," was the reply; "we would not sell it if you would give it to us and pay us ten per cent. for selling it." President McGuffey, in delivering a temperance lecture to the colored people a few evenings since, remarked, that "during a residence of six months in the city, he had not seen a colored man intoxicated."

MORAL REFORM.

There *was*, and *still is* a great want of effort to promote moral purity. It is a wonder that the colored people are not much more licentious than they are. Having been taught, at the south, that marriage is *dis*honorable, and a breach of the seventh commandment praise-worthy —having been told they must always be "*a despised race*," consequently, they have no character to lose—having been consigned, by public sentiment, to the libertine, as beasts of prey. NAY, MORE—having been shut out of all honorable employments, and thus deprived of means for making a *virtuous* living, is it strange that the steps of many take hold on death and hell? I know one man who is employed by libertines to decoy and draw from the paths of virtue colored females. I do not know as the colored people are more licentious than the whites; but if they are, is there not a cause? We rejoice to say that the efforts made to promote moral purity, have been blessed beyond our most sanguine expectations.

The following is an extract from the preamble and constitution of the Moral Reform Society, drawn up by O. T. B. Nickens, *a colored man*.

"Convinced that immorality has a peculiarly debasing tendency, exposing its victims to all the evils that afflict human society, bringing upon them the odium and abhorrence of the intelligent, pious and virtuous, as well as the severe judgments of heaven; therefore, we agree to unite in a social combination, and we adopt and will be governed by the following instrument as our constitution.

"ART. 1. This association shall be known as the Moral Reform Society of the colored citizens of Ohio.

"ART. 2. The object of the society shall be, the suppression of intemperance, licentiousness, gambling, sabbath-breaking, blasphemy, and all other vices.

"ART. 3. Persons of both sexes shall become members by signing and pledging themselves to conform to the principles of this constitution, but shall not be recognised as members when they neglect or refuse to comply with its requisitions.

"ART. 5. It shall be the duty of the Executive—1st. To strictly watch over the affairs of the society and members, admonishing them to maintain the true principles of morality and integrity. 2nd. To impress on the minds, as far as practicable, the importance of temperance, morality, virtue and industry. 3d. To urge upon parents the propriety of bringing up their children in conformity to the principles herein set forth. 4th. To admonish, discreetly, the youth among us, to refrain from immoral and vicious habits. 5th. To use their utmost endeavors and influence to roll back the inundating current of depravity and misery, by breaking their *fruitful fountains*."

The whole number which have joined the society since its formation, is one hundred and fifty-two. Seven have been expelled for breaking the second article. Monthly meetings have been held, lectures delivered, and, we believe, great good effected. Five dollars were raised by the society to procure seven copies of the Advocate of Moral Reform, to be circulated among the members.

The following is taken from the records of October 17th:—

"Rev. David Nickens, (the pastor of the colored Baptist church,) delivered an excellent sermon, discriminating between *nominal* and *real* morality. He concluded by proposing the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the only firm basis on which the Moral Reform Society can stand securely, and effect the desired end, is the *benign principles of religion*."

January 18, 1837.—The following resolution was passed without a dissenting vote:

"*Resolved*, That we will treat the licentious of both sexes alike; and while we use the most vigorous efforts to reform any who may have wandered from the path of virtue, we *will not associate with either sex*, until we have evidence of sincere repentance and abandonment of their sins.

SABBATH SCHOOLS.

There are two very interesting sabbath schools under the care of their friends. For want of teachers, we hold one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. Above one hundred attend one school, and about sixty the other. Many more would attend if suitable teachers could be obtained. Sometimes there are thirty or forty scholars without a teacher. It is truly heart-rending to see these persons

come seeking instruction, and no one found to teach them. One old lady said, with tears in her eyes, "I want to learn to read, so that I can read those sweet promises in God's word." If any people need the consolations afforded by the sweet promises in the Holy Scriptures, it is this. Many of them have children, husbands or wives, in slavery, and they would rejoice to hear that *death had emancipated them.* A mother received a letter a short time since, containing an account of the death of a beloved child. "*Bless God,*" she exclaimed, "I prayed that he would take them all away." Many a sleepless night has this mother spent, in thinking of her children. Another woman received a letter from her mother, saying that one of her brothers had been knocked down *dead*, and while he lay in the agonies of death, the master knocked down another, and it was doubtful whether he would recover. She said, "I wish he had killed the other." As far I can judge from the language and appearance of those who have friends in slavery, they regard *violent death* as one of the "*tender mercies of the system.*" Do not persons in such circumstances need the consolations of religion?

Truly, "the harvest is plenteous, but the laborers are *few.*" There have been several hopeful conversions during the year. Several of the barbers have closed their shops on the Sabbath.

GENERAL REMARKS.

It is frequently said the intellectual faculties of the colored people are not equal to those of the whites. A single fact may, in part, account for this. Where colored children live out at service, they are seldom sent to school more than two or three half days in the week. Now, if they do not learn as fast as the white children, who attend all the time, why forsooth, they *must be inferior.*

"But they are such thievish, vicious creatures, there is no living with them." Well, because we occasionally see a colored man intoxicated, must we brand the *whole* with infamy and disgrace?

A few months since, while on my way to visit a colored settlement in Shelby county, I heard a man saying "the blacks were so bad, and stole so there, they *must* be driven off." On arriving at the place, I was informed by Mr. Cardell (a trustee of the town) that they were as good neighbors as any he had. Mr. Forshee, (a worthy member of the Methodist church) farther informed me, that there were more colored people than white in the neighborhood, yet "within the last two years, six white men had been arrested for stealing, and only *two* blacks"—yet there was nothing said about the *whites* being vicious. We do not mean to insinuate by this, that the colored people are not vicious as well as the whites; but we mean to give honor to whom honor is due.

Nor do we justify their continuance in sin. *Far from it.* Light is breaking in upon them; and if they do not awake from their lethargy, and put away their abominations, a fearful doom awaits them!

But the success attending the feeble efforts, already made by their friends to elevate them, shows most conclusively that they are not only made of "one blood" with ourselves, but that they are endowed with the same susceptibilities for mental and moral improvement.

Allowing it to be a fact, then, that they *are* as vicious as their enemies represent them—*what then?* Why, evidently, OUR OPPRESSION HAS MADE THEM SO. Are they insolent? Not to their *friends.* I have not received an insolent word from a colored man during my abode in Cincinnati. Are they sabbath breakers? This is the *only* day the slave has to earn for himself, or to visit his friends. Is it not natural for a child to walk in the way in which it was taught? Are they thieves? They have been robbed of their *time, their wives, their children, their bodies and their souls,*—then, why should they not learn to steal? Are they deceitful? The art of deception was the most prominent branch of their education. Are they passionate? Well, if ten degrees of prejudice and oppression have made them as ferocious as tigers, how many degrees of the same will it take to make them *mild as lambs, and harmless as doves?*

Mr. Picket remarks, in his address to the college of teachers, that "no convulsion in nature is so appalling, or so destructive, as that which springs from fiery human passion." What, then, must be the character of that institution which cultivates, to the highest degree, the most *malignant passions?* He who kills a man inflicts a slight evil upon society, in comparison with him who makes his victim a murderer, and sends him forth to imbrue his hands in innocent blood. We wish those who think the evils of slavery have been exaggerated, could see what we have seen, and they would involuntarily exclaim, "the HALF never was told us!" Talk of exaggerating the horrors of the Spanish inquisition, or the bloody wars of Bonaparte; but talk not of exaggerating the evils of that which sunders "what God has joined together"—changes love into hatred—confiding trust into consuming jealousy—honesty into deceit—friends into enemies—destroys natural affection—transforms kindness into deadly revenge—puts out the eyes of the mind—palsies conscience—perverts the judgment—renders the heart callous—converts the image of God into a prowling demon, and sends him forth to perpetrate his work of death upon the morals of society.

If to walk amidst the wreck of matter be gloomy, what is it to walk amidst the WRECK OF MIND? But language fails us, it can be seen in its true light, *only* in *real life.*

In conclusion, we would say,—in view of the wants of this class of

community, for whom we toil and for whom we plead—in view of the success that has attended the efforts already made—in view of the happiness to be derived from binding up the broken heart, and cheering the drooping spirit—we hope the contribution box for the ensuing year will be large enough to receive MEN AND WOMEN; that those, who with us can say, "silver and gold have we none," may present "a LIVING SACRIFICE."

ERRATA.—In the List of Managers, on the 10th page, the name of JAMES H. SHIELD, occurs:—it should be JAMES H. SHEDD.

On the 55th page, it is stated that Mr. Bushnell receives a salary of $1400:—it should be $400.

REPORT

OF THE

THIRD ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

HELD IN

GRANVILLE, LICKING COUNTY, OHIO,

On the 30th of May, 1838.

CINCINNATI:
PUBLISHED BY THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
SAMUEL A. ALLEY, PRINTER.
1838.

MINUTES.

The Third Anniversary of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, was held at Granville, Licking co., Ohio, commencing Wednesday, May 30th, 1838.

The Delegates convened in the Presbyterian church, and were called to order by Robert Stewart, of Ross co., at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Rev. Wm. Beecher made a few remarks, and followed them with prayer.

Hon. Leicester King, of Trumbull co., President of the Society, took the chair.

After a short address by the President, George Whipple, of Oberlin, and George W. Warner, of Massillon, were appointed Secretaries.

On motion of Joseph A. Dugdale,

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to receive and enrol the names of the members of this Convention, together with the names and localities of the Societies which they represent.

On motion of the same,

Resolved, That all persons who approve of the principle, that *immediate emancipation, without expatriation*, is the right of the slave and the duty of the master, be requested to offer their names as members of this Convention.

On motion, the following Committees were appointed:

Committee to enrol the names of members,—Joseph A. Dugdale, Joseph H. Payne.

Committee to prepare business for the meeting,—John Monteith, Edward Weed, Gamaliel Bailey, George W. Warner, and A. A. Guthrie.

Committee on Resolutions,—John Rankin, Wm. Beecher, Samuel Galloway, Edward Turner, George Whipple.

Committee on Political Action,—Robt. Stewart, Eli Nichols, Horace Nye, Rees E. Price, Gamaliel Bailey.

Committee on the Nomination of Officers,—E. Weed, Augustus Wattles, W. W. Bancroft, John Monteith, Lorenzo D. Butts.

Rev. Wm. H. Beecher offered and supported the following resolutions, which were subsequently adopted.

Resolved, That the inculcation of the sentiments embodied in our Constitution, is emphatically but a re-affirmation of those fundamental principles first promulgated in the law of God, and from it incorporated into the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of Ohio.

The Society then adjourned, to meet in the same place at 2 o'clock, P. M.

2 o'clock, P. M.

The meeting having been called to order by the President, Mr. Monteith presented the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee of nine be appointed to report on the best plan of operations for the future, and to define the relations between this Society and the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The resolution was adopted, and the following persons constituted said committee: Gamaliel Bailey, John Monteith, Edward Weed, Robert Stewart, W. W. Bancroft, J. B. Walker, A. Cady, Horace Nye, George Whipple.

On motion of A. A. Guthrie, John Purdy and A. F. Hanna were appointed a committee to audit the accounts of the Executive Committee.

Samuel Galloway offered and supported the following resolution:

Resolved, That the friends of Immediate Emancipation claim to be actuated by motives of the highest philanthrophy, and that this claim will be recognized when the principles of civil and religious liberty shall be respected and loved. [Adopted.]

The President then introduced Rev. Alexander Rankin, who addressed the meeting in reply to some objections frequently urged against our operations.

Rev. Edward Weed offered and supported the following resolution, which was adopted.

Resolved, That the immediate abolition of slavery in the United States would advance the interests of the slave, the slave-holder, our whole nation and the world.

On motion of Mr. Weed, a committee of one was appointed to receive payments of old pledges, and to take new pledges from those who should be compelled to leave before the final adjournment of the Convention. Stephen S. Guthrie was appointed the committee.

Mr. Galloway read to the Convention a letter from Hon. Thomas Morris, addressed to Col. Wm. Keys.

On motion,

Resolved, That it be placed in the hands of the Executive Committee, to be published with the proceedings of the Convention, provided the consent of the writer be obtained.

Convention took a recess till half past seven, P. M.

Half past 7 o'clock, P. M.

The Convention was called to order by the President.

Rev. John Rankin addressed the Convention on the Duty of the Church in reference to prejudice against color.

Rev. J. Blanchard presented and supported the following resolution:

Resolved, That the property-holding power, by which every master holds his slave, is a sin in itself, and ought to be so regarded by all christians.

On motion, adjourned till Thursday morning at 8 o'clock.

Thursday, 8 o'clock, A. M.

President in the chair. Rev. Moses Scott addressed the Throne of Grace.

On motion of Horace Nye, a committee of six were appointed on the Phi-

lanthropist and Depository. The committee was composed of the following gentlemen: Samuel White, William Gage, William Lee, James Boyle, J. B. Walker, James Austin.

The Committee on Political Action presented their report, which was ordered to be read. The report was accepted, and article by article adopted.

REPORT.

The Committee on Political Action deem it necessary simply to report the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That this Convention entertain the same opinions as ever in regard to the truth of the sentiment expressed in the Declaration of Sentiments put forth by the Convention that formed the American Anti-Slavery Society, —a sentiment repeated in the second article of the Constitution of said Society, and, in general terms, incorporated into the Constitution of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society,—to wit, that Congress by the Federal Constitution has no right to legislate for the abolition of slavery in the States. [Adopted unanimously.]

2. *Resolved*, That this Convention does hereby record its full and solemn sanction to the following sentiment contained in the Declaration of Sentiments referred to in the foregoing resolution,—

"Our principles lead us to reject, and entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons, for (their) deliverance from bondage; relying solely on those which are spiritual, and mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds." [Adopted with but one dissenting voice.]

3. *Resolved*, That nothing in the foregoing resolution is intended to prevent, blame, or discountenance in any way, the exercise by abolitionists of their rights of suffrage in obedience to their anti-slavery principles. [Adopted unanimously.]

4. *Resolved*, That this Convention fully believes in the propriety and great importance of questioning candidates for office, on all those points connected with our enterprise, concerning which they may be legitimately called upon to act officially; so that the right of suffrage may be exercised on enlightened grounds. [Adopted unanimously.]

5. *Resolved*, That all abolitionists who believe in the lawfulness of our representative governments, are sacredly bound by their principles, so to bestow their suffrages, as to promote the election to Congress of men, whose sentiments are known to be decidedly favorable to the right of petition, the liberty of speech and the press, the right and duty of Congress to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia and Territories, its constitutional power over the slave-trade between the states, and its solemn duty to prevent the extension of slavery by the admission into the Union of any new slave-state, or territory; and also, to promote the election of men to the Legislature, who will advocate the removal of the legal disabilities under which our colored brethren now labor, and the extension of the right of jury-trial to all cases involving personal liberty, and who believe that it is the duty of Congress to grant petitioners on all subjects an attentive hearing, provided their petitions be couched in respectful language; that it has the power, and ought, to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia and the Territories, and that it ought not to

grant admission to any new slave-state or territory into our Union;—provided always, that in thus bestowing their suffrages, they violate none of the fundamental principles of morality. [Adopted unanimously.]

6. *Resolved*, That this Convention is opposed to every measure that looks towards a separate political organization; because it is an experiment which has never been tried and is therefore uncertain; because in all the resolutions of our national and state societies, it has never been countenanced; because it would render our motives suspected, place abolitionists in the attitude of political partisans, fighting for office, honor, and power, and thus corrupt their ranks by filling them up with selfish and unprincipled adventurers, and tempting them to resort to the ordinary machinery of partisan warfare—tricks, misrepresentation, and calumny; because it would divert their energies from the promotion of anti-slavery principles to the concoction of schemes for their own aggrandizement; because it would effectually prevent the reformation of public sentiment they contemplate, by utterly subverting their present party-attachments and sympathies, which afford so many channels for reaching the hearts and minds of their associates, and substituting, in their place, a mass of hostile feeling, the unfailing product of a strife for offices of trust, power or profit, which would defeat all attempts on the part of abolitionists to conciliate the good will or confidence of their political opponents; be cause, finally, it would engender internal dissensions, jealousies, and at length, open division among themselves; for, being composed of seceders from the great parties which now divide the country, they would naturally array themselves in obedience to their party-affinities, and oppose or support abolition candidates according to their political creed. [Adopted unanimously.]

8. *Resolved*, That it is recommended to the State Executive Committee to question candidates for the governorship, and that it be recommended to the executive committees or managers of the county societies, to perform the same duty in relation to all candidates (for county offices and) for seats in the Legislature and in Congress. [This was amended by striking out the clause in parenthesis, and then adopted unanimously.]

9. *Resolved*, That the subjoined questions be published, as indicating the course we recommend.

1st, Have Congress the power constitutionally to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, and ought they to do it?

2d, Have Congress the constitutional power to abolish the internal slave-trade, and should they exercise it?

3d, Have Congress the power to abolish slavery in the Territories of this Union, and should they exercise it?

4th. Have Congress power to prevent the admission of any new slave-holding state into the Union, and should they exercise it?

5th, Ought the Legislature of Ohio to repeal all laws making distinctions between the rights of white and colored citizens, and if not, which one of these oppressive laws should continue to disgrace our statute books?

6th, Ought freedom of speech and of the press, the right of petition, the right of the people peaceably to assemble themselves to consult for their own welfare

and the security of person and of property be maintained and held inviolate, or which of these great chartered rights should now be surrendered to the dark spirit of Slavery! [Adopted unanimously.]

On motion,

Resolved, That a committee of six be appointed to devise and bring before the Convention, a plan that will enable those who feel conscientious scruples in regard to the use of slave-produce, to obtain articles of free labor.

The following persons were appointed the Committee: John Rankin, Joseph A. Dugdale, A. L. Benedict, Charles Neil, W. H. Beecher, Wm. Donaldson.

The Treasurer presented his Report which was placed in the hands of the Auditing Committee.

Joseph A. Dugdale offered the following resolution, which was adopted by acclamation.

Resolved, That as men and christians, we rejoice at the peaceful escape of the slave from his house of bondage, and recognize as imperative and binding on us, the Scriptural injunctions—"Bewray not him that wandereth," "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant that has escaped from his master unto thee."

The Executive Committee through Gamaliel Bailey, submitted their Third Annual Report.

On motion of W. H. Beecher, the Report was accepted.

On motion of Mr. Blanchard, the Report was adopted and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Blanchard offered and supported the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is recommended to the sessions and other officers and members of anti-slavery churches, whose duty it is to examine candidates for admission to the same, that they pass, and publish in the newspapers, as soon as convenient, a resolution to the following effect:—That we will admit to our communion no candidate for examination who holds slaves, or defends the principles of slavery. [Adopted.]

A. A. Guthrie moved and A. Wattles seconded, the following resolution:

Resolved, That we now proceed to receive the pledges of individuals and Societies to the funds of the State Society.

Recess till 2 o'clock, P. M.

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2 o'clock, P. M.

On motion of E. Weed,

Resolved, That this meeting recommend to the Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the State, immediately to adopt the plan of regular monthly or quarterly subscriptions in aid of the funds of the State Society.

Mr. Beecher submitted the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, That the Anti-Slavery cause is truly a religious one; and that its unparalleled success in opposition to the most powerful and inveterate hostility, is unquestionably the work of God, and is to be regarded as a signal answer to the prayers of his people.

2. *Resolved*, That the final accomplishment of our holy object must be by the blessing of God on our efforts, and that we earnestly and affectionately entreat all

christians to pray always with all prayer," that God would be pleased to fill our hearts with wisdom, benevolence and holy courage, and render our efforts speedily successful in the entire removal of the system of slavery.

3. *Resolved*, That we regard Rev. E. P. Lovejoy, as a noble martyr in the cause of the freedom of the press, of speech, and of man, and that we revere his honored memory, assume his mantle, and sympathize with his afflicted family.

4. *Resolved*, That we regard the mob at Alton, and the more recent mob at Philadelphia, as furnishing conclusive evidence that the cause of abolition is in direct hostility to the empire of the Prince of Darkness, who has come down in great wrath because [he knoweth that his time is short; and as being to our opponents an evident token of defeat, "but to us of salvation and that of God."

The Committee of Nomination reported, and their report was accepted and adopted.

The Committee on Slave-labor produce, &c., reported the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it is the duty of abolitionists in all cases, to give the preference to free-labor products, and to encourage merchants to keep supplies of free-labor goods.

Resolved, That suitable efforts ought to be made to promote the manufacture of beet-sugar and silk.

On motion of J. A. Dugdale,

Resolved, That the resolution of the House of Representatives in Congress, adopted at the session of 1835–6, by which the petitions of *thirty-seven thousand* of our citizens, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the slave-trade between the states, were virtually rejected, was an inexcusable violation of the inalienable right of petition inherent in the people.

Resolved, That we consider the renewal of that resolution at the ensuing session of Congress, by which the memorials of more than one hundred and ten thousand of our countrymen were disregarded, as adding insult to the wrong already committed.

Resolved, That the second renewal of said resolution in the House of Representatives during the present session, by which the petitions of not less than three hundred thousand of the freemen of this republic have been contemptuously laid aside, without being debated, printed, read or referred, is an aggravated insult to the people and an outrage on their rights.

Resolved, That we are signally encouraged by the information furnished in the letter of Senator Morris—that 15,000 citizens of Ohio, subsequent to the passage of this gag-resolution, forwarded to him their memorials for presentation.

On motion of Mr. Monteith,

Resolved, That it is the duty of every friend of the anti-slavery cause to contribute liberally for the purpose of sustaining and enlarging our operations—Let the poorest appropriate the value of an hour's labor every week, and others in proportion, and the object will be gained.

The Auditing Committee presented their report, recommending the acceptance of the Treasurer's report. [Accepted.]

The Committee on the affairs of the Philanthropist and Depository, made a verbal report, accompanied with the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Convention believes that it is vitally important to the cause of abolition, in the West particularly, and throughout our country generally, that the Philanthropist be sustained; and that to this end, each member of this Convention will endeavor to procure at least one subscriber, and induce each family in his or her neighborhood to take at least one copy.

Resolved, That we feel increased and abiding confidence in the ability and integrity of Dr. Bailey, its present indefatigable editor.

Resolved, That one thousand dollars of the funds of the Society be appropriated to the use of the Depository in Cincinnati, and that the Executive Committee of the Society be directed to consider the fund as pledged to this purpose exclusively, and so manage it, as to prevent its diminution.

Recess until half past 7 o'clock, P. M.

Half past 7 o'clock, P. M.

Convention called to order by Col. Robert Stewart.

On motion of Wm. Brown,

Resolved, That John Quincy Adams, Wm. Slade, Thomas Morris, Leicester King, and Ben. F. Wade receive the thanks of this Convention for the fearless manner in which they have vindicated the rights of *all* men, and for the eloquence and fixed determination with which they have asserted and maintained the right of petition.

[The foregoing resolution was moved just after the Convention was called to order, and passed almost before the members had time to consider whether it required amendment. We now move an amendment which, we are very sure, will be seconded by every true abolitionist in the State;—we move that the name of J. A. Foote, member of the House of Representatives in this State, for last year, be classed with the other names mentioned in the resolution. His name, we know, was omitted unintentionally.—Ed. Phil.]

G. W. Warner addressed the meeting, presenting the free-will offering of a poor man in his neighborhood.

Rev. Mr. ———, of Mississippi, addressed the Convention, detailing many facts illustrative of the condition of society in Mississippi.

The Committee appointed to devise a more efficient plan of future operations, not having sufficient time to consider all the subjects submitted to them, reported only the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of this Society are hereby authorized, if they deem it expedient, in order to facilitate their operations, to establish an agency for Northern Ohio, to be called the Northern Agency; and that, for this purpose, they be authorized to appoint an Executive Committee of one or more persons in the vicinity of Cleveland, who may be invested with power to raise funds throughout that portion of the State, lying North of a line to be designated by the State Executive Committee, and who shall co-operate with said Committee in promoting the interests of the State Society.

The report was adopted. Mr. Nye presented the following resolution which was unanimously adopted.

Whereas, Those funds, received into the national benevolent societies of the

church, which arise from the labor of the slave, are in all cases the wages of unrighteousness, in many cases the price obtained for human victims sold in the shambles, and in some cases the price of blood, Therefore,

Resolved, That to receive such funds, obtained by a system of oppression and cruelty committed on souls and bodies for which Christ died, to be expended in propagating the gospel of Christ, is a mockery alike of the principles of reason and revelation, and an act which will bring on our nation the scorn of the christian world, and on our benevolent institutions so receiving the wages of iniquity, the frown of that God who has said, "I hate robbery for burnt offering."

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to the citizens of Granville for the kindness and hospitality with which its members have been entertained during its session.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published under the direction of the Executive Committee.

Prayer by John Rankin.

It having been made the duty of the Executive Committee to appoint the time and place of the next anniversary, the Convention now adjourned.

G. WHIPPLE, } *Secr'rys.*
GEORGE WARNER, }

OFFICERS FOR THE ENSUING YEAR.

President.

LEICESTER KING.

Vice Presidents.

Alexander Campbell, } *Brown County.*
James Gilliland, }
Asa Mahan, *Oberlin.*
Dr. Bancroft, *Granville.*
Reese E. Price, *Hamilton County.*
Francis Dunlavy, *Warren County.*
Wm. Keys, *Highland County.*
Robert Stewart, *Ross County.*
Samuel Crothers, *Highland County,*
Nathan Galbraith, *Columbiana.*
James Stewart, *Fayette.*
Dyer Burgess, *Adams.*
Abraham Baer, *Starke.*
Wm. R. Hudson, *Geauga.*
Samuel Denny, *Pickaway.*
Benj. Gass, *Richland.*
Orestes K. Hawley, *Ashtabula.*

J. Jolliffe, *Clermont.*
Levi W. Ipple, *Muskingum.*
J. S. Waugh, *Butler.*
John Walker, *Harrison.*
Daniel Miller, *Seneca.*
Gamaliel Bailey, *Hamilton.*
J. A. Foote, *Cuyahoga.*

Corresponding Secretary.

M. R. Robinson.

Recording Secretary.

Augustus Hopkins.

Treasurer.

William Donaldson.

Managers.

Harman Kingsbury, *Cuyahoga co.*
Isaac Colby, *Cincinnati.*
J. J. Blanchard, *Cincinnati.*
J. C. Clopper, *Cincinnati.*
Christian Donaldson, *Cincinnati.*
John Hunt, *Athens.*
Samuel Moffit, *Achtabula.*
Nathan Johnson, *Belmont.*
J. R. Mahan, *Brown.*
John Rankin, *Brown.*
Abram Allen, *Clinton.*
Manasseh Baer, *Carroll.*
James Hambleton, *Columbiana.*
H. S. Gillett, *Franklin.*
Uri Seely, *Geauga.*
Rob't. Hanna, *Harrison,*
Rob't. Bell, *Holmes.*
Everton Judson, *Huron,*
Joseph Bryant, *Jefferson.*
W. W. Beebe, *Knox.*
Joseph Rigm, *Scioto.*
J. B. Johnson, *Logan.*
John Monteith, *Lorain.*
Archibald Stewart, *Fayette.*
Timothy Hudson, *Medina.*
Charles Dringan, *Monroe.*
James A. Shedd, *Montgomery.*
Horace Nye, *Muskingum.*
Dr. Blackstone, *Pike.*
Asahel Kilbourn, *Portage.*
P. H. Gallady, *Preble.*
Shelden Guthrie, *Putnam.*
Richard Long, *Ross.*
Samuel McCullough, *Shelby.*
Riverius Bidwell, *Trumbull.*
J. M. Sterling, *Cuyahoga.*
Peter Kirkpatrick, *Licking.*
John G. Rogers, *Clermont.*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

JAS. C. LUDLOW,
CHRISTIAN DONALDSON,
ISAAC COLBY,
J. BLANCHARD,
WM. DONALDSON,
AUGUSTUS HOPKINS,
M. R. ROBINSON,
GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr.,
REESE E. PRICE.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society in account with Wm. Donaldson, Treasurer for the year commencing May 6th, 1837, and ending May 30th, 1838.

DISBURSEMENTS.

Cash paid A. A. S. Soc. on Pledge,	$1299	92
" for Books and Publications,	591	00
" Salary of Publishing Agent,	443	37
" " of Editor,	633	96
" " of Lecturers,	405	65
" for printing Philanthropist,	3028	75
" for Paper,	1374	31
" Expense of Office, including rent, fuel, &c., &c.	385	10
" Discount on uncurrent money, including counterfeit, &c.,	102	60
" Postage,	125	43
" Colored Sc[illegible],	160	19
" Commission to Philanthropist,	9	08
" Binding Reports, &c.,	23	75
" Law expenses, in Birney's case,	75	00
	$8658	11
Amount of Receipts for Philanthropist, Depository, Pledges, &c.,	$7651	95
Balance due the Treasurer, (overdrawn,)	$1006	16
Cash rec'd. on pledges and Philanthropist at Ann'ry.,	$999	60
Balance due the Treasurer,	$6	56

REPORT.

THE THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. GRANVILLE, O., *May* 30, 1838.

AT our last Annual Meeting, we presented a Report, exhibiting a general view of the Anti-Slavery cause in the United States, and the events that had transpired in connection with its progress. This year a report of a less general character is thought advisable. All that we now design is, to furnish a short history of the most important anti-slavery movements in this State during the year, to take a brief view of the present aspects of abolition generally, and to conclude with a few practical suggestions.

AGENTS.

Since last May four travelling agents have been operating pretty constantly throughout the State. Two of these have acted simply as lecturers; Rev. E. Weed has united the functions of lecturer and financial agent; and Mr. Wattles has devoted himself chiefly to the promotion of the interests of the free colored people. Their letters, published occasionally in the Philanthropist, furnish some idea of the fruits of their labors. The Society is especially indebted to Mr. Weed for his faithful and successful efforts, in raising monies to maintain the operations of the Executive Committee.

A leading object with Mr. Wattles has been, to induce the free people of color to settle more numerously in the country and turn their attention more generally to rural occupations. The education and social elevation of the colored population of the free states, are very justly thought to be objects of vast importance to the cause of Emancipation. The policy of slaveholders is, to effect the entire degradation of this class, so as to give at least the appearance of truth to their continual plea, that the slaves, if emancipated, could not take care of themselves. They are aware too, that slaveholding would appear still more abhorrent, if the free brethren of the slave

should display the full proportions of moral and intellectual beings, and their condition abound in evidences of well-directed effort. The earnest devotion of the spirit of abolition to the free people of color, is one of its most striking and beautiful characteristics. In this respect, it is like the wisdom that comes down from above—without partiality and without hypocrisy. It fearlessly exposes the popular delusion that prejudice against color is invincible, and has no affinity for any scheme, however magnificent, which, under the guise of philanthropy, is directly calculated to gratify and cherish the selfish feelings of a prejudiced people. In the face of a corrupt public sentiment, which would doom the colored man to perpetual degradation or exile from his native land, and brands with odium every attempt to ameliorate his condition, it comes forth in his behalf, and taking him by the hand, lifts him out of the depths of abasement into which the cruel spirit of caste had plunged him; and proclaims to him that even *here* his rights shall be acknowledged, and his interests protected.

Under the operations of this spirit, there has been an evident improvement in the condition and character of our colored population. It has hardly too much to say, that for the last few years almost every project of successful benevolence in their behalf, has originated with abolitionists. Numerous schools for their benefit have been instituted in this state, and are generally under the care of a few abolitionists. Colored people are fast awakening to the importance of having their children educated; they take a deep interest in the prosperity of the schools, and in some cases have assumed the whole burthen of their expenses.

PUBLICATIONS.

The only publications issued by the Committee during the last year, independent of the Philanthropist, are the Annual Report of our Second Anniversary, the Speech of Salmon P. Chase in the case of the colored girl Matilda, an Argument by the same gentlemen in the case of the State *vs.* Jas. G. Birney, before the Court in Bank, and a Memorial to the General Assembly respecting the colored people of Ohio. The Speech of Salmon P. Chase, on account of its peculiar importance was widely circulated. Of its merits and its powerful agency in enlightening the public mind on the right of jury-trial in relation to fugitives from labor, it is needless to speak. The production is confessedly a standard one on that subject. The Me-

morial respecting colored people, was prepared in obedience to a vote of the Society last spring, and duly presented to the General Assembly. It embodies a large mass of interesting particulars illustrative of the industry, intelligence and moral worth of persons of color in this State; and it exerted great influence, we have reason to believe, in removing false impressions from the minds of many of our legislators. The Society is under obligations to Augustus Wattles for the preparation of this Memorial.

The Philanthropist is now in its third year. Like every other periodical devoted to the dissemination of unpopular sentiments, it has had to struggle with continual difficulties, and nothing but a deep conviction in the minds of the Committee of its vital importance to the cause of abolition in the West, could have induced them under so many discouragements, to resolve on its continuance. Last January the Committee thought proper to increase at once its size and price, and have a certain portion of it devoted to news and miscellaneous matter. So far the change seems to have given universal satisfaction.

The Committee regard the vigorous support of the Philanthropist as indispensable to the successful prosecution of our enterprise. The utility of local anti-slavery newspapers is now generally understood. Maine has its Advocate of Freedom; Connecticut, its Charter Oak; New Hampshire, its Herald of Freedom; Massachusetts, its Liberator; New York, its Friend of Man, beside the various, important publications, weekly and monthly, issued in New York city; and Pennsylvania, its Christian Witness and Freeman. If the East can support such a number of weekly periodicals, exclusively devoted to the promotion of abolition, is it too much to expect that the West, bordering for many hundred miles on slave-holding states, fearfully exposed to the corrupting influences of slavery, and possessing peculiar instrumentalities for acting efficiently against it,—should sustain at least one anti-slavery paper? Of the important results that have followed the establishment and continuance of the Philanthropist at Cincinnati, we need not speak. We are pleased however to announce, that recently this paper has been received more freely into slave-holding states. Not long since, copies of it were sent to nearly all the newspapers in Kentucky, with the request for an exchange: in a majority of instances, the request was frankly and cheerfully complied with; so that now the Phi-

lanthropist has a considerable exchange list in that State. There is also a prospect of securing several exchanges in Alabama.

The importance of more efficiently supporting the paper, might be shown at greater length, but enough has been said, especially as the subject will again be brought up by the Publishing Agent.

PETITIONS.

The work of petitioning during the past year, has been more actively and extensively carried on than ever. To say nothing of petitions to Congress, at no former period during the abolition era, have so many prayers on anti-slavery subjects gone up to our state legislature. Last year there was comparatively little agitation of this kind. A few petitions were presented, little discussion took place, and only one or two unimportant reports were put forth. Petitioners were treated with no signal respect, and the Assembly appeared scarcely to feel the pressure of anti-slavery sentiment. During the last session, the subject of abolition was frequently under debate. Numerous petitions were presented, praying the legislature to protest against the annexation of Texas, to affirm the constitutional right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, to remonstrate against Mr. Patton's gag-resolution, to repeal the discriminative laws of the State relating to people of color, to secure the jury-trial in all cases involving personal liberty, to pass special protective enactments against mobs, and to vindicate the laws of Ohio by reclaiming the person of Eliza S. Johnson, a colored woman, kidnapped in this State and carried into Kentucky as a slave.

In the Senate the petitions were for the most part referred to select committees, but in the House this courtesy was generally denied. In both they gave rise to many reports, and these again, to much discussion. The reports and the action upon them have been faithfully recorded in the Philanthropist, and all that is necessary here, is briefly to recapitulate the leading facts in reference to them.

Mr. Foote reported a bill, making towns and cities liable for damages done by mobs within their limits. This measure doubtless grew out of the numerous outrages on property, which had become common in the popular warfare against abolitionists; but the whole bill was evidently calculated to be general in its benefits, and to maintain in all cases the majesty of the laws, by fastening responsibility on those who have the power to prevent disorder, and making it the absolute interest of the entire community to protect the

rights of every citizen. It was warmly opposed and as strongly supported, the opposition proceeding on the ground that it was an abolition measure. It was finally postponed until the next session.

Mr. Wade, from the Select Committee, appointed by the Senate on petitions respecting Texas, made a long and spirited report against the annexation of this territory to our Union, concluding with a preamble and resolutions. These, after some modifications, were at length adopted unanimously in the Senate, and with but five dissenting voices, by the House. An effort was subsequently made by Mr. Walton, to induce the Senate to pass a certain kind of apologetic resolutions, designed to assure the South, that Ohio in protesting against the admission of Texas, did not intend any hostility to the system of slavery; but it failed.

Mr. Dunlevy, from the Committee on the abduction-case, made a manly and judicious report, and concluded by recommending the passage of a resolution, requesting the Governor to open a correspondence with the Executive of Kentucky, and to insist upon the restoration of Eliza S. Johnson to freedom. The resolution passed by a vote of 37 to 13. This unfortunate woman was subsequently set at liberty, after five months unjust imprisonment, unrequited for all the bitter wrongs she had suffered.

Mr. Green, from the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, to which had been referred petitions concerning the right of jury-trial, reported adversely to the prayer of the petitioners. The unsoundness of the report was fully shown by a correspondent of the Philanthropist, and subsequently in the celebrated report of Judge King.

This gentleman made an elaborate report on the whole subject of the disabilities of our colored population, and also on the right of trial by jury. It excited profound interest in the Assembly, and a thousand extra copies of it were ordered to be printed. It clearly establishes the unconstitutionality, as well as impolicy and immorality of our present scheme of legislation in regard to people of color. He reported several resolutions appropriate to the report, and a bill for the securement of jury-trial in cases of alleged fugitives from labor. It being near the close of the session, and much important business remaining to be disposed of, the whole subject was laid over for action at the next session.

In the House, Mr. Collings reported on the same subjects, and on a few others referred to the Committee of which he was chair-

man. His report was favorable on the whole to the granting of a jury-trial, condemned Patton's gag-resolution as impolitic and violative of the spirit of the constitution, adopted the modern notion that implied faith to Virginia and Maryland forbids the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and was adverse to repealing or in any way changing the laws of the State in relation to colored people.

Mr. Foote, from the minority of the same Committee, reported a bill for repealing the statute forbidding "blacks and mulattoes" to bear testimony against white persons. In his report he took the general gound that all our discriminative laws relating to people of color, were wrong and impolitic. The bill was postponed indefinitely.

Mr. Wade, from a select committee, reported favorably to the prayer of petitioners, praying the Assembly to protest against Mr. Patton's gag-resolution. The resolutions he recommended were taken up only two days before the close of the session, and amidst the great pressure of other business, indefinitely postponed.

Mr. Green from the Judiciary Committee in the Senate, to which had been referred petitions praying the Assembly to affirm the constitutional power of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, near the close of the session, asked to be discharged from their further consideration. The request was granted, and further consideration postponed till next December.

Thomas Richmond introduced in the House certain resolutions, instructing the auditors of the several counties in the state, to ascertain how much money had been collected from colored persons annually since March 10th, 1831, cast the interest on the whole sum, and report the entire amount of principal and interest to the Auditor of State, on or before the 1st day of December next; so that the same may be submitted to the legislature, and such action had thereupon as "may appear just and proper." The resolutions were readily adopted; and they indicate a reviving sense of justice towards the colored population.

Such is a brief view of the action of the Legislature, on those subjects which peculiarly engage the attention of abolitionists. It will be at once perceived that, while nearly all the important objects respecting which we petitioned remain yet to be accomplished, a great deal nevertheless has been gained. Last year a strong effort was made to re-enforce and aggravate some of the most obnoxious

provisions of our laws relating to the people of color. Such a measure during the late session was too hopeless to be attempted. The tide of injustice, we rejoice to believe, is at length arrested; the current of feeling has set the other way; the legislature begins to feel the pressure of a public opinion, to which it has not been accustomed; hereafter, whatsoever changes may be made in our policy towards the colored people will, no doubt, be dictated and regulated by a regard to the sacred doctrine of equal rights, and the fundamental principles of civil liberty.

The result of our various operations in this State is truly gratifying. True, a less amount of eminent talent has been actively employed than in the Eastern States; some of our most influential men have been transferred to other fields of labor; and there has been but little parade or exhibition for mere effect: but the progress of abolition sentiment has been rapid. We do not know how many societies have been formed since last May; their present number may be estimated at about 300. The multiplication of societies, however, is but one evidence of the progress of our cause. There has been a decided approximation of the public mind to the standard of abolition-sentiment. People have become more awake to the exacting spirit of slave-holders. There is not so lenient a feeling towards slavery, as existed in this State a year ago. Self-respect and a more exalted estimate of what is due to the interests of universal liberty, are beginning to supplant that blind devotion to the South, which seemed eager to sacrifice almost every thing valuable in northern rights for the protection of the oppressor against the voice of rebuke and remonstrance. The impression is becoming more and more general, that slavery must be destroyed. Attempts to fetter the freedom of speech and of the press by legislative enactment are now out of the question; and lynch-law as a means for arresting free inquiry into this great social evil is rapidly becoming unpopular.

It will now be proper briefly to advert to several subjects of more general interest, by which we shall be enabled to form a tolerably correct opinion of the more important aspects of abolition.

TEXAS.

In regard to the projected annexation of Texas, the action of the free states for the most part has been independent, and decidedly favorable to the cause of human rights. It is not unlikely that, had

it not been for the vigorous, well-timed efforts of abolitionists, this measure so fraught with various evil, would before this time have been consummated. Fortunately, their zeal served to direct upon the unhallowed scheme the concentrated attention of the people of the free states; and the noble letter of Dr. Channing to Henry Clay, the indignant voice of remonstrance everywhere uttered by the press, and the solemn protests of legislative bodies, are all the legitimate results of the efforts of men, stigmatized as fanatics or unprincipled intermeddlers. Opposition to the movement, indeed, is not limited to abolitionists, nor does it necessarily depend upon anti-slavery reasons; but the first impulse and main-spring of this opposition are strictly in their nature anti-slavery. It is impossible to tell how many myriads of petitions on this subject have been sent in to Congress. They have made the slave-holder fully aware of the vast obstacles in the way of his wishes. Until thus informed, his movements were overt and bold, but since then they have been marked by more cunning and secrecy. All inquiry, that could in any way throw light on the subject of our perplexed relations with Mexico, and our attitude towards her revolted province, has been carefully repressed. Sometime during the present session of Congress, Mr. Morris moved a resolution, that the Judiciary Committee be instructed to ascertain whether our present laws on the slave-trade were sufficient to prevent the inhuman traffic between this country and Texas: this movement might have led to some unpleasant developments, and accordingly the resolution was laid on the table. The whole South on this question seems united in opposition to the North. The prospect of a few, immediate advantages has blinded her statesmen to the ultimate ruin the accomplishment of their wishes must bring upon the republic. Many of her legislatures have passed strong resolutions in favor of the annexation, and a portion at least of her population appears already to regard Texas as a part of the United States. Much is said about Texas not wishing to be admitted into the Union, and her intention to withdraw her petition for annexation, but this doubtless is designed to lull the fears and the vigilance of the people of the free states. American slaveholders have conquered that territory from Mexico; their darling project for years has been to have it incorporated with our possessions; and it is not to be supposed that they will lightly abandon their purposes, or suffer their tools in Texas to prove traitors to their wishes. The creed of slave-holders on this question may be stated in the empha-

tic language of the Frankfort Commonwealth, (Ky.) In an article concerning Texas, the editor says,—"For ourselves, we have never for a moment doubted the policy which our government should have pursued in relation to Texas. We have heretofore asserted and we repeat it again, that Texas should be made a component part of our country at all hazards—peaceably, if she was willing, and forcibly if she was reluctant."

Sometime in January, Mr. Preston submitted a formal resolution in the Senate having this measure for its object, and gave notice that he would call it up on the third Monday in February. Until lately however, the resolution was suffered to repose quietly on the table; when, Mr. Preston, finding that nothing was to be gained by further delay, concluded to bring forward the subject. His speech on the occasion was singularly free from that spirit of denunciation against abolitionists, so characteristic of the speeches of southern statesmen; from which we infer that these gentlemen are beginning to perceive that they have nothing to gain and much to lose by unseasonable and bitter invective. The resolution of Mr. Preston was again laid on the table, in order to give Mr. Walker an opportunity of speaking to it.

On the whole, it cannot be denied that slave-holders have failed for the present in the accomplishment of their purposes; but, let not the friends of liberty be deceived—the project of Annexation, we are sure, is not abandoned; so that it behoves them to be no less watchful and laborious than ever, to defeat a scheme which, successful, would entail eternal infamy upon the name of our nation, and demolish, it is to be feared forever, the proud hopes of our republic.

SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

With regard to slavery in the District of Columbia and Territories, petitions this year have been vastly more numerous than at any former period, and productive of peculiarly important results. We need only allude here to Mr. Slade's celebrated speech on a motion to refer petitions to the committee on the District of Columbia, with instructions to report a bill for the abolition of slavery therein; the prodigious excitement that hereupon ensued; the abrupt withdrawal of Southern members from the House; their consultation in solemn conclave, wherein the various projects, of infraction of the right of petition, pro-slavery amendments to the

Constitution, nullification and secession, were freely considered; their final agreement on a miscalled peace-offering in the form of Mr. Patton's gag-resolution; the servile adoption of this resolution by northern members; the noble protest of John Quincy Adams; and the treasonous letter of Mr. Rhett to his constituents. All these things are fresh in the recollections of the meeting; it is needless therefore to enlarge upon them.

In the Senate, the petitions produced results equally important. Mr. Calhoun, not satisfied with the quietly disrespectful manner in which our petitions had been disposed of, and eager by one bold stroke to annihilate the power of abolitionism, introduced in the Senate a set of resolutions, which may be said to contain the political creed of slavery. Of the nature of these resolutions, of Mr. Morris' antagonist resolutions, of Mr. Clay's declaration of sentiments, and of the details of the action of the Senate upon them severally, it is unnecessry here to speak. All these subjects have been discussed at large in the Philanthropist and various anti-slavery papers. The results of the whole movement have been precisely opposite to what Mr. Calhoun anticipated. Abolitionism is not dead; it lives with renewed life, lives to obtain still more signal triumphs over the sinister arts of statesmen and brute force of savage mobs, and will live till the wail of the captive shall be changed to a jubilee shout, and the clank of a slave's chain shall be heard no more in all our borders.

Let it be remembered, however, that for three years the right of petition has been virtually abrogated by the Congress of the United States. During the whole of this period there has been no distinct, solemn recognition of the sacredness of this right. The question remains undecided, whether the American people may or may not petition and be heard on the subject of a national grievance. In the House, the men whom they have elected to represent their interests, contemptuously throw upon the table the petitions of their constituents without reference, debate, consideration, or even reading; and this they dare still to do, in defiance of the voice of the largest portion of the press of the free states, and the protests of several of their legislatures. The action of the Senate is equally unprincipled. First the question is raised on the reception of a petition,—"shall it be received?" And then this question is on motion laid on the table. Of course the right of petition is tacitly denied.

Why has not Congress the sense to see that it is only deferring

a decision, which must ere long be made. Its present expedients for securing quiet can only be temporary. They fall short of the demands of slave-holders and transcend the principles of northern members. Every body perceives that they are mere tricks designed for present effect. Petitions are multiplying and will multiply. Year after year the tide of feeling will rise higher and higher, and Congress will be inundated with petitions. We know our rights; we can and will maintain them. We know that the right of petition is in chains, and we have pledged ourselves in the sight of God never to rest until it be released. The whole country is thrilling with emotion on the subject. Public meetings, composed of men of all parties have been held; the press has everywhere spoken out in vehement tones of rebuke; and the time will soon come, when the legislature of every free state in the Union shall demand that the petitions of the people be received, read, referred and reported on, as common sense and the constitution imperiously dictate. The real question before Congress is, shall we deny or recognize the right of petition on the subjects of slavery and the slave-trade in the District and Territories? This is the question between slave-holders and non-slaveholders. It must be answered, not evaded. Can permanent peace be secured by a trick? Can a zeal for the rights of others be quenched by the violation of our own? Can the mounting energies of a free people be repressed by insult? Are great questions to be laid asleep by evading them? True policy demands a just exposition and decision of constitutional questions, not their evasion by time-serving subterfuges. Better have no constitution at all, than one the force of whose plainest provisions we seek to counteract or evade by cunning devices. It is unmanly, unstatesman-like, silly, to shrink from the decision of a question which must be decided; and the decision of which may produce excitement the greater, the longer it is postponed. We repeat, Congress must decide this question, and decide it speedily, and decide it in favor of natural and constitutional right.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CHURCH.

The developments in the Southern churches for a year past have been of the most painful character. We need not here record the evidences of their frightful degeneracy. Surely, after the pro-slavery resolutions of Southern Methodist conferences, and the vindication of slavery as an institution harmonizing with christianity, by their

leading ministers and editors, there can be no doubt that this church in the South is one of the strong pillars of this stupendous system of robbery. Nay they are determined to place their position beyond all doubt. They wish it understood, that they have no fellowship for any sort of abolitionism—modern or ancient, ultra or moderate. In their eyes the gradualist is no better than the immediateist. Even their apologists in the North meet with a stern rebuke if they venture to express the opinion, that slavery is destined gradually to disappear under the benign influences of christianity. While slave-holding Methodists thus contend for the harmony of their institutions with the spirit of christianity, their leading brethren in the North acquiesce by their silence. Their church periodicals take no note of such heresies; their ruling men whisper no breath of censure; their bishops, presiding in conferences, put resolutions directly aimed to maintain the system of slavery, some of them declaring that it is no moral evil, and yet send forth no word of protest or dissent, manifest not the slightest symptom of dissatisfaction. On the contrary, the chief periodical of the church is devoted to an unrelenting warfare against the only men in the nation who are actively engaged in efforts to bring slavery to an end. Leading conferences in the free states pass resolutions of strong censure against ministers belonging to other conferences on account of their unwearied labors in behalf of the cause of human rights; a candidate for the ministry is rejected, solely because of his abolitionism, and as a necessary condition to ordination, pledges are required in one conference of candidates, that they will not discuss the subject of slavery; in fine, the determination is avowed in high places to put down abolitionists by the most energetic measures.

As to the Presbyterian denomination, it is now generally believed, that independent of the agency of other causes in the proceedings of the last General Assembly, hostility to abolitionism had much to do with the division of the church. But from the late declarations of sentiment so freely made by the New School party in the South, it appears evident that they are quite as devoted supporters of slavery, as their Old School brethren. The abolition act of 1818 is boldly affirmed by their leading writers to be an insult to southern Presbyterians, and they urge the necessity of instructing delegates to insist on its repeal. Christian fellowship with slaveholders on anti-slavery grounds seems entirely out of the question. The price of Union is, clearly, silence and inaction, complete and

perpetual on the question of slavery. Whether the General Assembly which has just risen, has been the scene of a compromise so humiliating and sinful, or whether Presbyterian abolitionists in the free states have maintained on this subject their integrity and independence, is yet to be learned.

From these terrible exhibitions of hostility in our own republic to the great interests of human nature, it is consolatory to turn away our eyes and fix them on a land, whose religion and government have allied themselves to the purposes of God's providence, whose religious men and statesmen have signalized their obedience to the commandments of Heaven, and their devotion to the Rights of Man, by entirely and forever abolishing slavery throughout the wide extent of their empire. Within a year past in Great Britain, the anti-slavery organization has been revived, and is now endeavoring to consummate the work of emancipation so gloriously begun. The impolicy of the apprenticeship system, its repugnance to the strict principles of Immediate Emancipation, the flagrant violation by the planters of many of its provisions intended for the benefit of the apprentices, and the innumerable grievances to which the negro is yet subjected, constitute sufficient reasons with the British abolitionists for urging the immediate abolition of this absurd and injurious system. Already is the subject before Parliament, and the probability is that this body will not long withstand the reiterated demands of a whole people.

The example of Great Britain must prove irresistible in its influences; it exemplifies the genuine spirit of christianity; in it shines forth the moral power of the world; and the providences of God plainly point it out as the glorious harbinger of an era of Universal Liberty.

Let us hope that this proud republic shall not be the last refuge of oppression on earth; that there is still moral power enough among us to overthrow this abomination of desolation. There is danger of dwelling too much on the dark side of our country's history. True, it is hard not to be dejected, not to be filled with grief, mortification and alarm, when the mind is permitted to meditate on transactions which now for many years have blackened the annals of the American people. How can we forget, that in this country, consecrated to liberty by the baptism of blood, the mightiest efforts have been put forth to bring its sons into abject vassalage to slavery? That nothing but mutual distrust, a want of concert, a foreboding of

sinister consequences, has prevented the American people from giving the form of law to the declarations against freedom of discussion made in their primary assemblies—from annihilating by solemn legislative enactment the rights of free thought and expression?

It is not owing to our *virtue*, to a pure, disinterested attachment to the principles of civil liberty, that we are not this day as fallen and degraded, as the subjects of European despotism, whose bondage we so deeply deplore. It is not that as a people, we have regarded more tenderly the liberty of speech and the press, than the tyrants who would fasten their fetters on universal mind. No! We are free simply because we were afraid of each other. If our politicians and civilians could have devised against us a law, that would not indirectly have curtailed their own liberties, that would not with inevitable certainty have prepared the way for violations of their own rights; it is to be feared that long ere this, an American Congress would have sanctioned the resolutions of pro-slavery meetings, and the deeds of ruffian mobs. Alas for our country! It will not do to brood too constantly over the painful scenes that have been enacted among us,—respectable citizens stirring up the vilest elements of society to the work of midnight destruction or open-day-outrage; the sworn supporters of the law, counting as dross the peace and dignity of the commonwealth, and lending the influence of their example and countenance to law-breaking mobs; merchants, prostituting honor, generosity, patriotism, for the sake of southern gold; politicians, calculating with atrocious coolness how far they may venture to trespass on the rights of their fellow-citizens, for the sake of slave-holding votes; statesmen, gravely deliberating in solemn council, how best they may intrench on the sphere of moral effort, how most ingeniously they may fetter freedom of opinion and the right of petition, how most successfully they may roll back the tide of the influences of those very principles which made us a free and an independent nation; christians, holding their peace or apologizing for the oppressor, while the sighing of the needy and the wail of the heart-broken captive are crying mightily to God to come down and deliver; in a word, a nation filled with exceeding madness against the fearless few who dared to insist, that Liberty now and Liberty forever, was the inalienable heritage of every man, bond as well as free.

But let us not be surprised or disheartened at these things. Let

us be amazed rather, that worse acts have not been committed, that darker scenes have not passed before us. Let us be thankful to God, that this day our rights are in less jeopardy than they were one year ago; and that the indications every where around us tell that the redemption of our country draweth nigh. Man is naturally intolerant. The propagation of unpopular opinions has always given rise to persecution. Philosophers may repeat the very reasonable maxim, that "error of opinion may be tolerated so long as reason is left free to combat it," but passion or interest will prove stronger than reason. The philosopher himself, under the influence of perverted feeling, will just as likely turn persecutor as the man who never uttered a striking thought. The American people are men—men of like passions and infirmities with those in other days who sought to exterminate offensive doctrines or opinions, by burning or beheading their adherents. It is not wonderful therefore that they should become persecutors, that they should avail themselves of the power of brute force to beat back opinions at war with their deepest prejudices and apparently their most cherished interests. The only wonder is, that in the face of such an array of interest, political influence, wealth, talent, prejudice, together with the strenuous opposition of realty good men, a reformation most odious in popular estimation should have been able to progress rapidly, without an interval of abatement, multiplying its advocates by thousands, and that throughout the stormy conflict, but one instead of a hundred, should have fallen a martyr to the cause of truth. This wonder can only be fully explained by referring reverentially to that Power, who has set bounds to the wickedness of the wicked, that it cannot pass over.

We shall now mention a few facts that furnish grounds of hope to the friends of Universal Liberty.

1. Within one year, there has been throughout the free states generally, a steady re-action in favor of law and order. But human blood was shed, one of America's noblest sons fell a martyr to truth and freedom, ere the Demon of Anarchy faltered in its career. Men slept on the volcano until it broke forth in the desolating scenes of Alton: then they started from their sleep. They, who had spoken before faintly in behalf of the laws, now burned with vehement indignation; and the voice of stern rebuke burst from lips which until now had been sealed as in the silence of death. The crisis had come. The mob-spirit had thrown off all disguise and showed it-

self the same foul, sanguinary and voracious demon that made itself drunk with the blood of human sacrifice in the terrible days of revolutionary France. The American people saw this, and hastened, ere it was too late, to put an end to the extending domination of a power, which had grown in strength and rapacity by reason of their criminal connivance. Their efforts have not been quite unsuccessful. The days of peace seem returning, and on every side may be seen tokens of a reviving regard for the laws. Nothing, however, but the watchful, steadfast, united efforts of the *moral* part of the community can prevent the re-enactment of scenes so dreadful and humiliating.

2. There has been a marked diminution of prejudice against abolitionists. Their doctrines are considered such as reasonable men may entertain, without therefore meriting the appellation of "madmen;" and their character and motives are better appreciated.

3. In the aspects presented by the slave-holding states, there is not a little to encourage us. The South has a conscience that may yet be reached. In the action of many of her state-legislatures, we have noticed enactments of a decidedly moral character, that must have flowed from an enlightened and increasing regard to the interests of morality. They plainly show that the spirit of reform is at work among them, a spirit which, as it gathers light and power from a more familiar acquaintance with those radical principles of reformation which christianity is everywhere disseminating, will soon turn its energies against the whole system of slavery.

4. The dissolution of the Union may now be regarded as a danger almost passed. The Southern press is less violent and menacing in its tone; few public men in the South seem disposed to second the treasonous sentiments of Mr. Rhett; little has been said and less done about a Southern Convention, a majority of the most eminent statesmen of the South being adverse to the measure.

5. The minds of slave-holders generally are more calmly attentive to the discussion of slavery. We trust that they are beginning to see the folly of violent attempts to suppress the discussion of a subject, which the providence of God and the genius of Christianity are forcing on the attention of the world. At no former period during the whole seven years of our anti-slavery warfare, have we been brought into so close contact with Southern mind.

The South indeed appears to be generally receding from the truth on this great question; but it is only in appearance. The very pro-sla-

very ultraism that has become so remarkable, shows that slave-holders are beginning to feel the heavy pressure of abolitionism. No middle ground now will answer the purpose of the determined slave-holder. His ultraism is opposed as much to Gradualism as Immediateism. He pleads not for a temporary, but an eternal slavery. The movements of the abolitionists directly tend to develop the real state of the South. There are undoubtedly two classes of men in that region—those who from motives of interest are resolved to countenance no scheme for bringing slavery to an end, and those who, feeling slavery to be a curse, and yet too timid, or too unenlightened to form a definite plan for its removal, look forward to a day when the providence of God shall effect its extinction. The agitation of the slavery-question has brought out the first class in bold relief; and theirs is the voice that we now hear. They are the men who would smother discussion, and who, breathing out threatenings and slaughter, with an eye of fire and a front of defiance, would frighten the North into tame acquiescence in their unrepublican, anti-christian, inhuman claims. Their voice has been heard first, simply because they were *decided*, and because too they were eager to avail themselves of the jealousies growing out of the anti-slavery excitement, to abate the hostility of the second class to slavery, and prevent forever any efforts on their part for its removal. But the very extremes to which these men of violence are driving their pro-slavery notions, must sooner or later produce reaction among their more irresolute, though less selfish and despotic fellow-citizens. It is not possible, that that this class can long endure that the South, the whole South should stand arraigned before all christendom as the bold, unblushing advocate of perpetual slavery. A voice of dissent, of remonstrance shall yet be heard; a voice of terrible rebuke, in the South itself, shall go up into the ears of men, who, like Calhoun and McDuffie, would magnify and immortalize a monster, on every lineament of which Jehovah has stamped his curse, and for the annihilation of which the fulness of his unutterable attributes is pledged. Anxiously do we wait and hope to hear this noble rebuke. On the enemies of slavery in the South itself, we depend for its abolition. Let them begin to act, and the days of slavery are numbered; and to them, we rejoice to say, the way of access is opening; among them the spirit of free fearless inquiry is already moving. Heaven forbid that we should despair of our country—that we should lift up the voice of bitter, hopeless denunciation against

the slave-states, as if there were no hearts there to be softened, no minds there to be convinced, no souls there to kindle with generous emotions, no consciences there to be enlisted on the side of God and Liberty.

Many more considerations might be adduced to show what little reason there is for distrusting the power of truth, for despairing of the virtue of our fellow-countrymen, for supposing that God has abandoned this republic to a hard and an impenitent heart. But we have said enough—enough to revive the hopes of the Friends of Freedom, and incite them to renewed exertions in behalf of the cause of Universal Liberty.

AN ADDRESS TO THE CHURCHES ON PREJUDICE AGAINST PEOPLE OF COLOR.

BY JOHN RANKIN.

The Church is the light of the world, and the salt of the earth. She is to preach the gospel to every human being, and warn the world against every sin. She is to open her mouth for the dumb, and plead the cause of the poor and needy. She is to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound. She is Christ's messenger sent to preach peace on earth, and good will to men. And although she is unhappily divided into various denominations, still she has but one Lord, and one supreme rule of faith and practice. In all her parts she is equally bound to extend benevolence to the poor of all nations, to enlighten and elevate all classes of human beings, and to use suitable efforts to banish every moral evil from the world. Hence an appeal is now made to Christians of all denominations on behalf of the colored people of the United States. And they are humbly entreated for Christ's sake, to hear this appeal.

It is well known that strong prejudice is entertained, by the mass of Society, against the people of color, and greatly to the injury both of their temporal and spiritual interests.

It is now intended to call the attention of all christians to this prejudice, and show that it is most unreasonable, and highly criminal; and that, of course, it ought to be abolished.

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOR IS MOST UNREASONABLE.

1. It is most unreasonable. This will appear evident to every one who will candidly investigate the grounds from which this prejudice springs. Difference of color, peculiarity of hair and features are made the occasions of prejudicing

men against their fellow-beings. Were difference of color, and peculiarity of hair and features natural evils, rendering the colored people inferior to others, they would form reasons for sympathy, and not for prejudice. If evils they be, they are unavoidable. The Ethiopian can no more change his skin than the leopard can his spots. If there be fault in the color, hair, and features of the African race, it might be charged to Him who formed the Universe. Infinite Wisdom gave the color, and drew the form of every human being. How unreasonable then, to entertain prejudice against the color and form that God has given? Is it not to reproach our Maker?

The color, hair and features of the colored people were not given, as some have supposed, as a mark of Heaven's displeasure, and intended to designate them for degradation and slavery, but as the effects of natural causes. As all sprung from a common parent, the differences of color, hair and features in the human family, must be attributed either to direct miracle, or to the operation of natural causes. He who believes they are to be attributed to miracle, ought to be able to give us the evidence on which his belief is founded. There is no evidence that ever such miracle was wrought. It is absurd to suppose a direct interposition of Almighty power for such a purpose; it is reasonable then to attribute such varieties in the human family to the operation of natural causes.

Man was formed to inhabit every climate, hence it is reasonable to believe that human nature was created susceptible of such constitutonal changes as would best fit him for inhabiting every region of the globe. This is confirmed by facts.

All mankind were created in a common parent, and of course, were originally of one color; but now they possess every shade of color, from the perfectly white to the entirely black. In every climate the inhabitants have a peculiar shade of color; and this peculiar shade is proved to be constitutional by the fact, that it is still propagated after people have changed climates.

Noah's posterity are divided into three great families; in each of these there is great variety of color; in all of them there are the two extremes of white and black, while the great mass in each are partially dark. In Guinea and Senegal, where the heat is excessive, the children of Ham are entirely black. In Abyssinia and Egypt, where the heat is less excessive, they are less dark. The ancient Canaanites, on whom Noah's curse was executed, were the fairer portion of Ham's family, and equally fair with the ancient Hebrews. "A colony of Ethiopians who were settled at Colchis, on the Black Sea, two thousand years ago, have now become white." The Jews, descendants of Shem and of Abraham, "are white in Germany and Poland, swarthy in Spain and Portugal, olive in the Barbary states and in Egypt, and black in Hindostan. The largest portion of white people descended from Japhet, and yet he has black children in his family. The Portuguese who settled on the coast of Africa a few hundred years since, are now black. The children of Shem and Japhet become black in hot climates, just as soon as the children of Ham.

Horne, in his Introduction to a Critical Knowledge of the Scriptures, thus answers the objection to the Mosaic history, founded on the difference of color in the human family. "In order to invalidate the Mosaic history, it has been

contended, that if all mankind sprung from Noah, the second parent of the human race, it is impossible to account for the origin of the *blacks*, if the patriarch and his wife were *white*. But this difference in color does not invalidate the narrative of Moses: for it has been ascertained that the influence of climate, and the local circumstances of air, water, food, customs, &c., are sufficient to account for the dissimilarity which is discovered in the appearance of different nations. If dogs, taken to the frigid zone, grow shaggy; and if sheep, transported to the torrid zone, exchange their wool for hair, why may not the human species gradually partake of the influence of climate! as experience shows it does. The testimony of M. De Pages, who himself experienced this change, is particularly worthy of notice. In his travels round the world, during the year 1767—1771, speaking of his passage over the Great Desert, he says, 'The tribes which frequent the middle of the Desert, have locks somewhat crisped, extremely fine and approaching the woolly hair of the negro. *My own*, during the short period of my travels in those regions, *became more dry and delicate than usual*, and receiving little nourishment from a checked perspiration, *showed a disposition to assume the same woolly and frizzled appearance:* an entire failure of moisture, and the excessive heat of climate by which it was occasioned, seemed to be the principal causes of those symptoms; my blood was become extremely dry, and *my complexion at length differed little from that of a Hindoo or Arab.*'"

"Man was formed to reside in all climates," "Man," says an eminent naturalist, [Count Buffon,] who was by no means a bigot in favor of Scriptural history, "though *white* in Europe, *black* in Africa, *yellow* in Asia, and *red* in America, is still the same animal, tinged only with the color of climate. Where heat is excessive, as in Guinea and Senegal, the people are perfectly black; where less excessive, as in Abyssinia, the people are less black; where it is moderate, as in Barbary and and Arabia, they are brown; and where mild, as in Europe and Lesser Asia, they are fair." "In further corroboration of the influence of climate on the human complexion, we may remark, that there is a colony of Jews, who have been settled at Cochin on the Malabar coast from a very remote period, of which they have lost memory. Though originally a fair people from Palestine, and from their customs preserving themselves unmingled, they are now become as black as the other Malabarians, who are scarcely a shade lighter than the negroes of Guinea, Benin or Angola. At Ceylon, also, the Portuguese who settled there only a few centuries ago, have become *blacker* than the natives; and the Portuguese who settled near the Mundingoes, about three hundred years since, differ so little from them as to be called *negroes*, which they resent as a high indignity."

In short, to adopt the the memorable conclusion of the indefatigable philosopher above cited, who deduced it after minute inquiries, from a great number of the best attested observations: "From every circumstance proof may be obtained, that mankind are *not* composed of species essentially different from each other; that, on the contrary, there was originally but one individual species of men, which, after being multiplied and diffused over the whole face of the earth, underwent various changes from the influence of climate, from the difference of food, and the mode of living, from epidemical disorders, as also from the intermixture, varied *ad in-*

finitum, of individuals more or less resembling each other; that these alterations were at first less considerable and confined to individuals; that afterwards, from the continued action of the above causes becoming more general, more sensible, and more fixed, they formed varieties of the species; and that these varieties have been and still are perpetuated from generation to generation, in the same manner as certain disorders and certain maladies pass from parents to their children."

The conclusion of this eminent naturalist, founded upon accurate observation, is in exact accordance with Divine Revelation. The Scriptures teach that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth." Acts, xvii. 26. As man was designed to dwell on every part of the earth, it was necessary that he should be formed susceptible of such constitutional changes as would fit him for every climate. The Ethiopians, Jews, and Greeks, are alike recognized as men. Hence the efforts of some anatomists to prove that the negroes are not of the human species, are direct attacks upon the Bible. The Holy Spirit commanded Philip to join the chariot of "a man of Ethiopia," a Negro. He obeyed, taught him, and baptized him in the name of the Lord Jesus. Acts viii. 26–38. A difference of formation in the head or brain can no more prove an absolute difference of species, than a difference in the formation of any other parts of the body. Some are born with six fingers on each hand; no one on earth can account for the fact, and yet who would be stupid enough to contend, that persons who have six fingers on each hand are not human beings because of a different formation from others. There may be a vast variety of formation of the human body, without destroying the essential constituents of human nature.

The Scriptures not only teach the variety of the species, but assume it as a fact that the sun changes the color of the skin. Can. i. 6. "*Look not upon me because I am black; because the sun hath looked upon me my mother's children were angry with me.*" The meaning is, because the sun has looked upon me so as to make me black, my mother's children were angry with me. The complaint is, that the anger of the mother's children against their sister, was unreasonable, because her blackness was occasioned by the rays of the sun, and not by her own fault.

It is well known that a few days exposure to the sun will make a very sensible change in the color of the skin, and that the longer the exposure is continued the more deeply sensible will be change. It is generally well known that it requires much longer time to remove, than to contract a tinge of the skin.

It has been ascertained, that color exists in the rays of light. There are seven kinds of colored rays. The color of a body depends on the kind of rays it reflects. The body that is so constituted as to reflect the red rays is red, that which is so constituted as to reflect the blue rays, is blue; and that which is so constituted as to reflect alike all the colored rays, is white. It is found by experiments, that white is an amalgamation of all the original colors. The body that is so formed as to absorb all the rays, is black. The skin of the white man is so constituted by climate and manner of living, that it reflects the rays of light, and this is the reason why he is white. The skin of the black man is so constituted by climate and manner of living, as to absorb the rays of light, and

this is the reason why he is black. The skin is composed of three layers, called the cuticle, the rete mucosum, and the cutis. The cuticle is semi-transparent, and the cutis is white. These are of the same color in all men of every climate. The rete mucosum is a soft mucous substance, and is susceptible of change by the action of climate. In excessively hot climates it becomes thick, and like black paint absorbs the rays; consequently the skin is black. Other climates so operate upon the rete mucosum as to cause a partial reflection of the red rays, and consequently, the skin has a red appearance. Under the action of European climates it becomes so thin as to be scarcely perceptible, and is so constituted as to permit the reflection of the rays, and consequently the skin is white. It is then, the action of the various climates upon the rete mucosum that causes the varieties of color in the human species.

When people from a fair climate settle in a black climate, the rete mucosum becomes gradually changed by excessive heat, so as to obstruct the reflection of the rays, and under the continued action of the same causes still more of the rays are absorbed, and fewer reflected; hence the skin grows continually darker. The constitution becomes habituated to those secretions by which the rete mucosum is rendered thick and dark, and a natural result is, that a tendency to such secretions is propagated in the offspring, just as when the constitution has long been habituated to disease, a tendency to such disease is propagated in the offspring. The change in the rete mucosum is no doubt effected by a change in the secretions, and these changed secretions become habitual, and in this way the color becomes permanently changed, and is propagated in the offspring. Thus the Portuguese who settled in Africa a few centuries since, became gradually darker from generation to generation until they have become as black as the natives.

When people are removed from black to fair climates they gradually become less black, until they assume the color peculiar to such climates. Hence the colored people of the United States, notwithstanding their continued exposure under a relentless system of oppression, are less dark than the native Africans, although unmixed with the European race. It has been justly remarked by careful observers, that the fourth and fifth American generations purely of African blood, are sensibly nearer to the color of Europeans than are the native Africans. Under more favorable circumstances they would doubtless have made greater advances towards a fair complexion.

The process from black to white is much slower than that from white to black. The causes that produce a fair skin are counteracted by opposing causes. The action of the sun in every climate tends to darken the complexion. It requires protection from the sun in the fairest climates to produce and sustain an entirely fair skin. In the most favorable climates the skin, by a few days exposure to sun, will contract a tinge that months will not remove. Hence it is evident that the process from black to white is against strong tendencies, and must of course, be exceedingly slow, yet a black people residing in a fair climate will ultimately become white. This is proved by the fact, that people purely of African blood, are in the United States, continually becoming lighter in complexion.

From the statements made, and the facts presented, we may safely conclude that man was created susceptible of receiving his color from climate, and that no one shade of color is more natural to human nature than another.

There is no shade of color in the human family that is not beautiful in itself, and admired when attached to other objects. The white, the red, the olive, the brown and the black, are all admired in cloth, and why not equally so in the human skin! It is exceedingly difficult to determine which is the more admired the perfectly white, or the entirely black dress. Certain it is, that the beauty of the black is not so easily tarnished as that of the white. Why should we admire the black glossy dress, and despise the black skin that is infinitely more curiously wrought! The skin is but the dress which God has thrown over the human frame. As a kind father dresses out his daughters in white, red, olive, brown and black, while he esteems them all alike his children, so the good Father of the Universe has dressed out his children in colors according to the various climates in which they dwell. All are beautiful; why should they despise one another!

The peculiarity of the hair and features is also to be attributed to natural causes. It is found that tribes who live in distinct climates, and who do not intermarry, have each, hair, eyes and features peculiar to themselves. For instance, the Indians have all coarse, strait, black hair, their eyes are of one color, and they have the same general features. The fairest climates produce red and white hair, and those less fair produce dark and black hair. Hence the European nations, being mingled together have hair variously colored. In a single family may be found red, white and black hair. This is owing to the amalgamation of people from various climates. That some should have red and white hair, and others black hair, is just as unaccountable as that the African race should have woolly hair. Originally, there was but one kind of hair; for all sprung from a common parent. One climate so forms the constitution as to produce red hair; another so forms it as to produce white hair, and another so as to produce not only black but woolly hair. All these facts exist, and they prove that the differences of hair and features are the results of natural causes.

The color, hair and features of the African race then are not marks of Heaven's displeasure, as many have ignorantly supposed, but the results of natural causes. Hence, to indulge prejudice against colored people is extremely unreasonable.

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLORED PEOPLE HIGHLY CRIMINAL.

II. The prejudice against the colored people is highly criminal.

1. It is a palpable violation of the law of love. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself:' no allowance is made for the color of our neighbor's skin. The white neighbor, the red neighbor, and the black neighbor are alike to be the objects of our affection. This is evident from the Saviour's interpretation of the law and the prophets. "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets." No man would desire to have others to indulge such prejudice against him, and consequently, no man can indulge such prejudice against another without violating the Divine law.

2. Such prejudice is against the example of God and other holy beings. God is declared to be "no respecter of persons. But in every nation, he that feareth Him and worketh righteousnes, is accepted with Him." The Saviour, when on earth, readily associated with the poorest and most degraded classes of human beings. The holy angels attended upon the poor beggar Lazarus, and carried his departing spirit to Abraham's bosom. Philip, by the command of the Holy Spirit, associated with "a man of Ethiopia," a negro, just as freely as if he had been white. The Apostle James says, "My brethren have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of Glory, with respect of persons. For if there come into your assembly, a man with a gold ring, and goodly apparel, and there come in also a poor man in vile raiment: *and ye have respect to him that weareth the gay clothing, and say to him, sit thou there in good places; and say to the poor, stand thou there, or sit here under my footstool; are ye not then partial in yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts?—If ye fulfil the royal law according to the Scripture, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' ye do well; but if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors.*" James ii. 1—4, 8, 9.

Thus reasons an inspired Apostle. If prejudice against poverty and vile raiment be sinful, how much more sinful is prejudice against a colored skin, the very clothing which God himself made, and dyed by the arrangements of his providences. If it be criminal to refuse a man a seat, or to set him under our footstool, because of vile raiment, which may be the fruits of idleness and crime, how much more criminal to refuse a man a seat, or to set him under our footstool because God has given him a colored skin!

3. This prejudice tends to the most cruel oppression. It has shut up from the colored people the bowels of compassion. In most of the states it has deprived them of the rights of citizenship, the advantages of the learned professions, and the benefits of the mechanical arts. It has denied them the privileges of colleges and common schools in which to educate their children. It has shut them out of the temple of God, and taken from them the key of knowledge that opens the gate to eternal life. It has organized a powerful society to cast them ignorant and hungry upon a foreign shore, to fall a prey to inveterate disease.* It has enacted against

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* That this prejudice gave birth to the Colonization Society there can be no reasonable doubt. Why colonize Africans more than Europeans, if there be no prejudice against color? It is well known that Colonizationists affirm, that the prejudice against the colored population is so great that they never can be elevated in this country. It is this prejudice that denies colored Americans a comfortable home in their native land, and compels their consent to go to Liberia. Few, if any, would go thither, were they permitted to enjoy their rights in this country. Thus it is evident that the Colonization Society owes its existence to prejudice. That many engaged in that enterprise were actuated by benevolent motives, is readily admitted.

Two years since Elder Swan, while attending the General Assembly at Pittsburg, examined some adult slaves, who were then on their way to Liberia—five out of six could not tell him who made them. These are some of the missionaries who are to enlighten Africa.

The fact of the hunger is stated in several communications from Liberia.

the colored people cruel and oppressive laws. And it is a prominent pretext for holding near three millions of them in abject slavery, and destroying the very end of their being as rational creatures. A Tennessee paper asserts that, in a single year, sixty thousand slaves were driven on their way to market, through a single western town. How vast must be the number of human beings sold every year in this far-famed land of liberty!! Hundreds of thousands are annually torn from all that is dear on earth. Husbands and wives, parents and children are forever separated from each other! Even the clinging babe is torn, by the rude hands of the stranger, from its mother's bosom! Rivers of sorrows flow and millions of groans ascend to Heaven! The very lamp of life is extinguished, and thousands upon thousands descend to endless night! Still this relentless prejudice, dark fiend of hell, cried they shall not be free among us! They shall not be free among us!!

Surely such prejudice is one of the blackest crimes of the human heart. It ought to be, and it can be abolished. Let Divine truth be wielded against it, and it will vanish away as darkness before the rising sun. The sword of the spirit can cut it up root and branch, and drive it from the earth. To the shame of the gospel ministry, the truth has seldom been brought to bear on this blackest of human crimes. Millions have indulged it without reproof, and few seem to have thought it criminal. On this point the watchmen of all denominations have long slumberrd—let them now awake and show the people that this prejudice is hatred to our brother, that it always oppresses the poor, and that "*he that oppresseth the poor reproacheth his Maker.*" Let the duty of loving our neighbor, without respect to his color, be carefully inculcated both by precept and example. Let all be made to feel that they cannot inherit the kingdom of God while they entertain a prejudice ruinous to their fellow men, and soon the rights of the poor colored people will be restored to them, and they will be owned and cherished as brethren.

How great has been the sin of both ministers and people in fostering a prejudice that consigns to ruin millions of immortal beings! How inconsistent is our conduct,—we rear up great Missionary institutions to convert the heathen abroad, and make annually sixty thousand heathen at home! We may safely say that we make a thousand heathen at home for every ten we convert abroad. I cannot

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One of these is a letter from John Moore, published some time since inthe Philanthropist.

That a large number fall a prey to inveterate disease, is a fact that cannot be denied.

Forty persons liberated by General Blackburn, of Virginia, and sent to Liberia, were in less than one year reduced in number to twenty-three, by the inveterate diseases of that climate. Seventeen out of the forty died in less than twelve months after their arrival, and these too were of the prime of the company. This is only one of the many painful facts that might be presented as evidence of the dreadful mortality attendant upon colonization in Africa. All that have perished by the scheme have been the victims of cruel prejudice, and their blood will be required at the hand of the United States. All who indulge this prejudice are personally guilty of causing the death of their fellow-men. Ought colonization to be carried on [illegible] sacrifice of human life?

but weep while I record the painful and shameful fact. O that I could persuade my christian brethren, of all denominations, to make immediate and persevering efforts to abolish a prejudice that involves millions in utter ruin. O look at this appalling fact, that three millions in our land are denied the privilege of learning to read the Sacred Scriptures!! And to these sixty thousand will be added every year with their increase. Soon the annual increase will be hundreds of thousands. In behalf of these perishing millions I appeal to the whole Christian Church in this nation, and in the name of Christ, brethren, I beseech you as you desire to find mercy, to have mercy on your oppressed fellow beings! Do open your mouths for the dumb, do plead the cause of the poor and needy.

REPORT

OF THE

FOURTH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

HELD IN

PUTNAM, MUSKINGUM COUNTY, OHIO,

On the 29th of May, 1839.

CINCINNATI:
PUBLISHED BY THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.
1839.

MINUTES.

Pursuant to notice, given by the Executive Committee, the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society held its Fourth Anniversary, in Putnam, Muskingum county, May 29th, 1839.

Wednesday, 10 o'clock A. M., the delegates assembled in the Presbyterian church. On motion, Rev. C. G. Finney, took the chair, and opened the meeting with prayer.

On motion, the following committees were then appointed:—

On Business: G. Bailey, Jas. G. Birney, Jas. C. Ludlow, W. W. Bancroft, and Henry Cowles.

On Funds: E. Weed, L. D. Butts, W. Donaldson, Robert Hanna, Thomas Rodgers.

On Depository and Philanthropist: Lorenzo D. Butts, James Boyle, Asa Smith.

On Nomination of Officers: Daniel Parker, E. Weed, W. Robinson, W. Donaldson, M. R. Robinson.

On motion, the Annual Report of the Executive Committee was then read by Dr. Bailey, accepted, and with a single amendment, adopted. The printing of it was referred to the Executive Committee.

Adjourned to 2 o'clock P. M.

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2 o'clock, P. M.

President Finney in the chair. Meeting opened with prayer.

On motion, Horace Nye, A. A. Guthrie, and A. Bushnell were appointed a committee, to make out the roll of delegates present.

G. Bailey from the Business Committee reported resolutions in relation to the acts of the Ohio legislature at its last session. [See Resolutions marked A.] They were acted on, separately, and the discussion to which they gave rise, which was both spirited and profitable, occupied the afternoon. The one respecting the case of Mahan being under consideration, he was called upon by the audience, for an account of the whole case, which he gave in a very

interesting manner. After the adoption of several of the resolutions, the convention adjourned till 8 o'clock P. M.

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8 o'clock, P. M.

Dr. Alexander Campbell, one of the vice presidents, in the chair. Meeting opened with prayer.

The committee appointed to make out the list of delegates present, reported 284 names. Report accepted.

On motion, all Abolitionists present were invited to participate in the proceedings.

A letter from J. A Thome to the Convention was read, and ordered to be printed with the proceedings. The consideration of the remainder of the resolutions marked A) was resumed, and the evening consumed in their discussion. They were all adopted.

Adjourned till 8 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Thursday, 8 o'clock, A. M.

Convention assembled. President Finney in the chair. Prayer by the president.

On motion, Eli Nichols, W. W. Bancroft, and Ed. Sturges, were constituted an auditing committee.

On motion, L. W. Knowlton, V. F. Hamin, and J. Cable, were appointed a committee to receive the reports of auxiliary societies.

The Committee on the Philanthropist reported, that the paper had now a larger circulation than at any former period, having a subscription list of about 3000; but that there was a large amount of arrearages still due. They recommended the following resolution which was adopted.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to obtain, and report to the corresponding secretary, the names of one or more persons, member or members of each society, whose duty it shall be to collect the monies due on the Philanthropist, and on pledges, and to procure subscribers to the paper. M. R. Robinson, E. Weed, and L. D. Butts were appointed this committee.

The committee on nominations submitted their report, which was accepted and adopted. [See the names of officers in another column.]

G. Bailey from the Business Committee reported a series of resolutions, relating to the action of Congress and the general govern-

ment on the subject of slavery. (See resolutions marked B.) They were read, and on motion, laid on the table.

Thos Bassfield, who was a slave for 27 years in Tennessee, addressed the meeting for about half an hour. He paid $550 for himself, has been free over somewhat four years, and has labored, and attended school, alternately.

A series of resolutions, explanatory of the ground assumed by Abolitionists, in regard to the political bearings of the slave question, was then offered by President Finney. They were considered separately, and the mover accompanied each one by remarks designed to illustrate and enforce it. With some slight amendments, they were at length adopted, and constitute the series, marked C, in another column.

A resolution respecting the duty of Abolitionists to contribute liberally of their funds to the Anti-Slavery cause, was moved by Mr. Weed. It was spoken to in an animated style by Messrs. Weed, Parker, and Barney, and adopted.

Resolved, That the Convention now proceed to take up pledges and receive donations, for the support of the cause, the ensuing year.

The business of obtaining pledges, &c., was accordingly commenced, and it appeared that, when closed, nearly $1000 had been pledged.

Adjourned to 2 o'clock P. M.

2 o'clock P. M.

Met according to adjournment. President Finney in the chair.

On motion of Robert Hamm, one hundred dollars were appropriated to M. R. Robinson, as a tribute of respect, and in consideration of his past labors in the anti-slavery cause, in the arduous performance of which, he had the misfortune entirely to lose his voice.

On motion of R. Hamm, the following resolution was read, and laid on the table.

Resolved, That the church of Christ in the United States is responsible in great measure for the present existence of slavery in this country, and that we cannot but regard that branch of the church that will refuse to fellowship ministers or churches on account of their views, and sin in connection with the dark spirit of slavery.

The resolutions appended to the Business Committee to the

morning, respecting the action of the general government on slavery, were then separately taken up, discussed, and at length adopted.

Mr. Birney then moved the following resolution.

Resolved, That the elective franchise is a power conferred in the providence of God on the citizens of the United States for good—which they ought to use, and invariably, for the election to legislative and other stations of trust, of those only who, being of good moral character, are known to be favorable to human rights, and to the abrogation of all distinctions in right founded on color.

The only objection made to this resolution, was, that its passage would conflict needlessly, with the peculiar notions of Covenanters who were members of the Society, who believed that the government of the United States was wrong, and therefore refrained on conscientious grounds, from voting. The resolution was accordingly modified, so as to read, after the first clause, ending with the word "good"—"which those who can conscientiously vote, ought to use inviolably for the election," &c. During the discussion on this topic, a letter signed by a committee of the Medina Anti-Slavery Society was read, protesting against the course of political action pursued by the State Society. While the communication was treated with respect as coming from a society, its sentiments met with no favor from a single member of the convention; and the resolution under discussion, with the proposed amendment, was heartily adopted.

M.

Convention met. Alexander Campbell in the chair. Meeting opened with prayer.

Hiram Wilson, who has spent the past year in travelling and preaching among the colored people in the Canadas, offered the following resolution, which he supported in a speech of half an hour's length.

Resolved, That our beloved brethren and sisters, who, as teachers of science and morality, are laboring to elevate the character and increase the healthful influence of the free colored population of the United States, and British possessions, are thereby wisely and successfully promoting the cause of universal emancipation, and ought to be liberally sustained by the friends of the enslaved.

Jas. G. Birney moved the following resolution

Resolved, That all plans of gradual emancipation are inadequate, as means for the abolition of slavery in the United States.

In support of the resolution the mover addressed the meeting at considerable length, exposing the futility of colonization, the impracticability of any scheme of gradual emancipation on the soil, and showing the safety and benefits of *immediate* emancipation.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 8 o'clock A. M.

Friday Morning, 8 o'clock A. M.

Convention met according to adjournment. President Finney in the chair. Meeting opened with prayer.

The Business Committee reported the following resolutions, which were adopted unanimously.

Resolved, That the responsibility of sustaining slavery in this country, rests to a great extent on those of our fellow-citizens, who are professedly opposed to the system, and who have no personal interest in its continuance, but refuse to bear their testimony against it.

Resolved, That it be recommended to Abolitionists in Ohio, to establish in every school district a good A. S. Library, in the course of one year.

Resolved, That it be be recommended to our fellow-citizens to petition the next legislature to reimburse Mr. Mahan for the losses unjustly incurred by him, in the late prosecution against him in the court of Mason county, Kentucky.

Resolved, That the moral and intellectual elevation of free colored men is vitally connected with the great object of Abolition, and that in our view, for this end, special effort should be made for the education of their children and youth, by opening and sustaining schools in all their settlements, and wherever a sufficient number are collected together to maintain a school, and far better still so far as practicable, by opening the doors of all the schools and literary institutions throughout our land, for the free admission of persons without distinction of color.

G. Bailey moved that the resolution respecting the responsibility of the church, previously offered by R. Hanna, and laid on the table, be now taken up, and also requested leave to offer in connection with it, the following resolutions, which was granted.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this body, those ministers of the gospel, who have preached against the sin of slave holding,

have acted in this respect, consistently with their office, as preachers of righteousness, and imitators of Him, whose coming was heralded as glory to God in the highest, on earth, peace and good will to man.

Resolved, That no religious society can be considered pure from the guilt of enslaving men, so long as its privileges are open to slave holders, without rebuke.

These resolutions were discussed with much animation by Messrs Finney, Cowles, Weed, Walker, Hanna, and another member, whose name is now forgotten.

The question was taken upon them separately, and they were all adopted unanimously.

In connection with the foregoing resolutions the following was submitted by Professor Cowles, and adopted.

Resolved, That the abolition of slavery is a mighty conflict between truth and falsehood, righteousness and oppression: that in view of the strength with which slavery has imbedded itself in the legislation of our country, in its customs and habits, and in the lusts of power, indolence, wealth and passion, our reliance for success in our efforts to abolish it, rests with confidence mainly on the power of truth, upon the conscience and the heart, sustained by Him who can touch the hearts of men and turn them at his pleasure; and we therefore earnestly recommend as one of the most efficient means of abolishing slavery, that the monthly concert of prayer for the oppressed be faithfully observed and that Christians on all suitable occasions implore the God of the oppressed to interpose in his wisdom and love for their deliverance.

On motion of John Stuart, the following resolution was adopted.

Resolved, That respect is due from all right hearted men to those Christian denominations which have wiped from their character the foul and God-dishonoring stain of slavery.

On motion of Horace Nye, it was

Resolved, That the co-operation of our christian brethren in Europe and other parts of the world, in our efforts to abolish slavery in these United States, will tend powerfully to hasten its abolition.

On motion of G. Bailey, it was

Resolved, That notwithstanding the exhibitions of violence on the part of leaders in both church and state at the South, we still believe that there are patriots and christians there, who deeply la-

sent the evil of slavery, and with whom we are called upon sincerely to sympathize.

The recommendation of the Circleville antislavery society to change the form of the Philanthropist from the folio to *quarto*, was duly considered, and laid on the table.

On motion of L. D. Betts, the following resolutions, after some remarks, were adopted.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Executive Committee, to open a correspondence with the anti-slavery societies of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Western Pennsylvania, and other societies interested in a general anti-slavery convention of the Western States, and to urge upon them the duty of such a measure.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Executive Committee to call several district conventions, during the ensuing autumn, in such different parts of the state as may to them seem best; and to secure the attendance of able speakers, in order to awaken a deeper anti-slavery interest, and accelerate the progress of the cause.

On motion of E. Weed, it was

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to publish an address to the churches, and ministers of the gospel in Ohio, on the duty of christians in relation to American slavery.

Prayer was then offered up by Pres't at Finney, and the convention adjourned, after a most spirited, harmonious and deeply interesting session.

ELI M'CHOLS. } *Secretaries.*
E. WEED. }

RESOLUTIONS.

Passed at the Fourth Anniversary of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society.

A.—FIRST SERIES.

Resolved, That, while we rejoice at the noble protests of the legislatures of Vermont and Massachusetts, and of the H. of Representatives of New York, against the attempts in Congress to abridge the right of petition, we feel deeply abased, that the General Assembly of Ohio, promptly echoed the servile doctrines contained in the Atherton resolutions, by passing a series of resolutions, as false, as they were abject and derogatory to the honor of the state.

Resolved, That the resolution passed by the house of represen-

tatives of Ohio at its last session, which denies to the colored population of the state, the right of petition, is a refinement on despotism itself, and an exhibition of such prejudice against color, as can be cherished only by minds habitually malignant, and essentially vulgar and cruel.

Resolved, That the passage during the last session of our legislature, of the Bill relating to fugitives from labor, at the dictation of the slaveholders of Kentucky, has degraded the free state of Ohio in the estimation of her sister states; and that the Bill itself, denies the right of trial by jury; converts the ministerial officers of the Ohio courts of justice into the ignominious tools of slaveholders; invites the most flagrant aggressions on personal rights by securing the aggressor against liability of punishment; tends to place the people of Ohio in the position of open supporters of the practice of slaveholding; is an outrage on the constitution of the state; an inhuman attempt to fetter the most generous sympathies of the human heart, and a palpable violation of the law of God.

Resolved, That those men, who advocated, or voted for, the passage of said bill, have given in the servility of their conduct, evidence of the fact, that no office of trust, power or profit, in the gift of the people of Ohio, would be safe in their hands.

Resolved, That the dictation of the slaveholding power in relation to the late election in this state, for senator to Congress, is additional evidence that nothing but the shadow, cowgrel of the government of the country will satisfy the slaveholders, and shows conclusively the low estimate placed on the self respect and love of independence of the people of Ohio. Such dictation ought to have been repelled with the deepest indignation by a state, jealous of its honor and watchful against encroachments on its liberties.

Resolved, That the indictment, demand, delivery, arrest, abduction, incarceration, and loading with irons, of the Rev. J. B. Mahan, a citizen of Ohio, were disgraceful to Kentucky, insulting and injurious to this state, another demonstration of the aggressive nature of slavery, a fair sample of the ruthless, unprincipled policy necessary to uphold this system, and a most humiliating evidence of the blindness, or stupid indifference of the constituted authorities of Ohio, to gross invasions of the rights of the citizens they are sworn to protect.

Resolved, That, as the Rev. J. B. Mahan, was arrested, and removed from the protection of our laws by virtue of a warrant of the

Executive of Ohio, unlawfully granted, whereby he was made unjustly to sustain great pecuniary loss, he ought therefore, being otherwise remediless, to be compensated by an appropriation from the state-treasury.

Resolved, That Ohio owes it to herself, to humanity, to freedom, to the claims of justice, to the God of nations, not only to repeal the servile law passed at the last session of her legislature, but also every law on her statute-book, which discriminates between human beings, on account of their color. Such laws are the offspring of prejudice against the oppressed, and of a sycophantic desire to please the oppressor, and find no warrant in sound interest, or humanity.

Resolved, That color in Ohio can furnish no presumption of slavery,—that it is disregarded in the Constitution of the state, as a basis of personal rights, and therefore we are bound to presume *every* person *within the limits* of the state, *free*, and to treat him as such.

Resolved, That *he* ought to be regarded as infamous, and an enemy to his species, who in a free state, will aid or assist the slaveholder, to any extent or in any way, in the recapture of a human being, whom he claims as his slave.

Resolved, That the noble efforts of B. F. Wade and his few associates, in resisting the passage of the Servile Bill, and in endeavoring to maintain unimpaired the honor and independence of Ohio, entitle them to the highest respect of every citizen of the state.

Resolved, That while we mourn over the disgrace inflicted upon Ohio, by the conduct of an abject legislature, we yet rejoice in the thought, that in the senate chamber of the United States, Abolition has found its first advocate in the person of an Ohio Senator. Let Thomas Morris be remembered with gratitude, as the only man in the United States' Senate, who twice stood forth as the advocate of the truths of the Declaration of Independence, and the defender of human rights, when most fiercely assailed, first by John C. Calhoun, and then by Henry Clay,—and this, too in the face of his party, and with the sure prospect of losing his seat.

Resolved, That the citizens of Ohio and the friends of liberty generally, have further reason to rejoice, in the manly and independent stand, taken by the Hon. J. R. Giddings, at the last session of Congress, against the aggressions of the slaveholding power.

B.—SECOND SERIES.

Resolved, That the assertion so often made, that the free states have nothing to do with slavery, or the slave-trade in this country, is untrue and unjust, for it is well known, that the government of this nation has been, and now is, wrested from its original purpose, in being prostituted to the guardianship and nurture of the slave-system, whereas it was intended by its framers to operate for its final extinction.

Resolved, That the free states have an equal interest in the "general welfare," and are equally bound to cherish it; and, as slavery is continually acting injuriously upon it, they are therefore solemnly bound, to resist by all moral and constitutional means the further extension of slavery, whether in principle or form, and by right and proper action on the slave-states, induce them to bring it to an end without delay.

Resolved, That as the slaveholder has procured, if not commanded, the action of Congress, as well as of our own state-legislature, to confirm his power over the slave, additional obligations are laid upon us, as Americans, and as Ohio citizens, to engage in anti-slavery operations.

Resolved, That the proceedings in Congress, during the last session, with regard to petitions and memorials for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the slave-trade, and kindred objects, were invasive of the sovereignty of the free states, and of the constitutional rights of individuals. Any interest of a local character, which thus aspires to use the national legislature as an instrument for dishonoring the states, and outraging rights solemnly secured by the federal constitution, (and such we regard the slave-holding interest,) ought to be restrained, if not put down.

Resolved, That the resolutions introduced by Mr. Atherton into the House of Representatives of the United States, and passed by that body, were a wicked attempt to deprive American citizens, by the action of one house of Congress, of that sacred right, which the constitution declares shall not be competent for the whole power of Congress to violate.

Resolved, That we deny the truth of that part of the first of said resolutions, which declares, that Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the subject of slavery in the several states of this confederacy; because it has a right to regulate, or abolish the slave-trade, which is part and parcel of the institution of slavery; and because

too, it owes protection to the slave against foreign aggression, and can punish him for treason or other crime against the United States, independently of any slave-state or slave-holder.

Resolved, That the second resolution, in assuming that Congress ought to be influenced by the avowed motives of petitioners, is an impertinent assumption. Whatever may be the motives of petitioners, they have no influence with themselves, and the only question for Congress to decide is, whether the object prayed for be constitutional and proper to be granted.

Resolved, That, so far from Congress having no right to do that, which may indirectly affect the institution of slavery, it is both their right and duty, and in accordance with the design of the framers of the constitution, to exercise in a moral way, every power conferred by the constitution, which may indirectly overthrow slavery.

Resolved, That the assertion in the third resolution, that the "disturbing or overthrow" of slavery in the several states is against the true spirit and meaning of the constitution, is a gross libel on that instrument, and a broad and glaring curtailment of the rights of the states; because, if the spirit and meaning of the constitution be, that slavery shall exist in the states, then indeed the people have no power over the subject, and the curse of slavery is entailed upon them, in spite of themselves.

Resolved, That, the resolution by which petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and territories, and the slave-trade, were laid on the table, without being debated, printed, or referred, is an act of high-handed usurpation, and a naked violation of every principle of free government; an act which, if patiently acquiesced in by the people of the free states, will open the way for still more fearful invasions of their liberties.

Resolved, That the system, adopted by the Senate of the United States, of disposing of all petitions relating to slavery, by laying on the table motions to receive them, is a practical denial of the right of petition, and calls for the indignant and unremitted remonstrances of every American citizen.

Resolved, That the conduct of the same body, in refusing to consider or print the resolutions of the state of Vermont on the same subject, shows that the slave-holding power has no more respect for the sovereignty of states, than the rights of individuals; and ought

to be solemnly and sternly rebuked by every legislature in the Union.

The following resolution was here moved by Rev. William Beecher, as proper to be subjoined to the two immediately preceding.

Resolved, That the contempt with which petitions and memorials on the subject of slavery have been treated by Congress and our own legislature, calls loudly for the indignation of every friend of liberty; and so far from preventing should only stimulate us, to more persevering and decided efforts, to make our sentiments and wishes known, by the most earnest petition, and decided protest, until our legislature listens to the same. Carried.

Resolved, That the refusal of the General Government to recognize the independence of Hayti, and its persistent, pertinacious endeavors to effect the restoration of cargoes of slaves, wrecked on British islands, or driven by stress of weather into British ports, and liberated by virtue of British law,—while they demonstrate the hypocrisy of our professions of devotion to liberty and equality, and convict us of having gone more than consistency, at the same time show, beyond all doubt, that the institution of southern slavery is not a sectional, but a national affair.

Resolved, therefore, that slavery, having thus placed itself under the protection of the General Government, and thereby involved the whole Union in one common guilt and disgrace, we not only claim a right to interfere with it by moral means, but also claim, that the Constitution of the United States, if necessary, should be so amended as to enable the national legislature to legislate for its abolition. For it is manifestly absurd, that the power and honor of the whole nation should be called in requisition, to sanction, support and protect an institution, over which, it is assumed, that it has no jurisdiction.

[This resolution gave rise to considerable discussion. It was opposed, chiefly, because an apprehension prevailed, that it would be misunderstood, and subject us to unjust misrepresentation. It was finally laid on the table, much against our will. It is high time to tell the slaveholders, that if they will have our aid to uphold slavery, they must share with us the power of controlling it.—Ed. Phil.]

Resolved, That the Honorable Henry Clay, in his late speech on Abolition in the Senate of the United States, so far from occupying the high position of an American statesman, comprehending in his

views and solicitudes the interests of the whole country, and founding his opinions and policy on the principles of eternal justice, has prostituted himself to the support of an interest, sectional in character, radically wrong in principle, despotic in demand, violent and reckless in measures, adverse to the highest welfare of the Union, and at war with *Humanity*.

Resolved, That while his grave and inflammatory misrepresentations of the movements, motives and principles of abolitionists, qualify him to assume the championship of the slave-holding interest; the false and dangerous principles, mercenary arguments, rank selfishness, apathy to the wrongs of the oppressed, unblushing sympathy with the oppressor, every where prominent in his speech, and the complacent presumption with which he calculates on the continual blessing of God upon a system of never-ending slavery, all tend to his own persistance in the accursed practice of slave-holding, disqualify him for any office of honor and influence among a free people.

Resolved, That, since Mr. Van Buren, as President of the Senate, gave the casting vote in favor of Mr. Calhoun's bill to prohibit the free circulation by the mail, of papers favorable to Human Rights—afterward, at his inauguration as President of the United States, pledged himself to veto any bill which might be passed by both Houses of Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, unless such bill should be supported by the slave-holding States—[illegible] so far as is known to this [illegible] that he is not, up to this time, favorable to the perpetuation of slavery in the South, and that he is not to the full, a Northern Proslavery man with Southern principles—he is therefore unde[illegible]ving of support, as a candidate for the first office at this Government.

A resolution was offered by Wm. Purdy, which was adopted, and ordered to be printed with [illegible] one of the two foregoing resolutions. We regret, exceedingly, that it was not read; but the reporter of it was [illegible] the Convention could not countenance any candidate, holding opinions on slavery, like those entertained by Henry Clay or Martin Van Buren.—Ed. Pilot.

Resolved, That we [illegible] John Quincy Adams for his determined [illegible] the right of petition and freedom of [illegible], for his strenuous opposition to the annexation of Texas, and his bold expression of determined hostility to the slave-holding system; notwithstanding

less, we disavow all sympathy for any scheme of *gradual* abolition which he may devise, and should be as reluctant, while he holds his present opinions on the question of abolition, to acknowledge him as one of the leaders or representatives of the abolition organization, as he is unwilling to be thought such.

Resolved, That the interest which distinguished men in the United States, not abolitionists, have taken in the discussion of the slavery question, and their efforts to contribute their share to the overthrow of the evil, we duly appreciate; but, at the same time, we feel more than ever convinced of the vital importance of adhering to our own principles and mode of action, and of procuring the adhesion thereto of the whole American people.

Resolved, That we have no sympathy with that class of anti-slavery persons, who glow with generous indignation at abridgements of the rights of the free, but look, unmoved, upon the degradation and oppression of the slave.

Resolved, That we are primarily and chiefly opposed to slavery, because it is sin against God, a sin in which by our social, ecclesiastical and political relations we are necessarily involved; because it inflicts incalculable wrong upon nearly three millions of our fellow-countrymen, whom we are religiously bound to love as ourselves; and because it acts as a principle of corruption in church and state all over the country.

Resolved, That we are moreover opposed to slavery, because it hinders the prosperity of the nation, disgraces its character, divides its councils, tends to disunion and civil war, and jeopards all our rights.

Resolved, That as the practice of slaveholdingis in itself necessarily and unchangeably sinful; we are as much as ever convinced of the duty of its *immediate* abandonment.

Resolved, That the expediency of immediate abolition is no longer a matter to be settled alone by abstract reasoning and reference to principles of duty, but is fully established by the results of emancipation in the West Indies.

C.—THIRD SERIES.

1. *Resolved*, That while we have been, and still are, mainly anxious to discuss the moral and religious character, bearings, and tendencies of slavery, and leave to politicians, as far as is consistent with our relations to God and our country, the discussion of its

political character, bearings and tendencies, yet, for the following obvious reasons, we feel called upon, as abolitionists and christians, freely to discuss its political character and influence.

a. Religion cannot be separated from politics and government, inasmuch as our conformity or non-conformity to the law of our country, must have a moral and religious character.

b. Since our Legislature has undertaken to legislate upon the subject, and frame laws for the government of our conduct, we are imperatively bound to inquire into the moral character of those laws, and of the course of conduct they prescribe and enjoin.

2. *Resolved*, That for the following obvious reasons, we regard it, as a well settled principle of both common and constitutional law, that no human legislation can annul, or set aside, the law or authority of God.

a. The most able writers on elementary law, have laid it down as a first principle, that whatever is contrary to the law of God, is not law.

b. Where a bond, or other written instrument, or any thing else, is of immoral tendency, Courts of law have refused to recognize it as legal and obligatory.

c. The administration of oaths, or affirmations, in Courts of justice, is a recognition of the existence and supreme authority of God.

d. The Constitution of this State expressly recognizes the axiom, that no human enactment can bind the conscience, or set aside our obligations to God.

e. The grand instrument on which the federal Government is founded, recognizes the same truth—that rights conferred by our Creator as inalienable, can never be cancelled, or set aside, by human enactments.

f. The administration of oaths, or affirmations, in all the departments of the general and state governments, is a recognition of the truth, that God's authority is supreme.

3. *Resolved*, That we do not consider, what are familiarly, and we believe, significantly, termed the Black Laws of Ohio, and especially the one passed last winter, relating to fugitives from labor, as obligatory upon the citizens of this State, inasmuch as its requisitions are a palpable violation of the Constitution of this State, and of the United States, of the common law and of the law of God.

[It will be noticed that the reason alleged why the *Black laws* of

Ohio are not obligatory upon us, is, because the *law passed last winter* is so and so. The resolution therefore is not a logical one. This alone would be with us a sufficient reason for recording our vote in dissent. Another reason would induce us to this course.—We are not prepared to say that we do not consider any one of the black laws, in any of its provisions, as obligatory upon the citizens of this State. In *so far* as these laws require from me an act, of immoral character, they certainly have no obligatory power over me. That part of the resolution, however, which condemns the Servile Law of last winter, and denies its validity, we can go for, with all our mind and strength.—Ed. Phil.]

4. *Resolved*, That for the reasons assigned in the above resolutions, we should deem obedience especially to the law of last winter, highly immoral.

["Especially" ought to have been omitted.—Ed. Phil.]

5. *Resolved*, That no man, by any promise or oath, or resolution, can make it right, or lawful, for him to do that, which is contrary to the law of God.

6. *Resolved*, That an oath or affirmation, to support any human constitution or government, is obligatory no farther than the principles of that constitution or government are in accordance with the law of God.

7. *Resolved*, That an oath or affirmation to support the Constitution and laws of this State and of the United States, is obligatory because, and as far as, these constitutions and laws are consistent with each other, and with the law of God, and no farther.

[This resolution needs explanation. One of the measures and reasons of a man's allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, is, certainly, not the accordance of these with the constitution of his particular State; for the federal constitution and all laws passed in pursuance of it, are the *supreme* law of the land, any thing in the Constitutions or laws of the several States to the contrary notwithstanding. The resolution means simply, that an oath or affirmation to support the Constitution and laws of the United States and the several States, is obligatory, because and as far as, they are consistent with the law of God, and that allegiance to the laws of a State is due, because and far as, the laws are consistent, not only with the law of God, but the Constitution of the particular State, and of the United States.—Ed. Phil.]

8. *Resolved*, That we deem it to be the imperative duty of all

the citizens of this State, and of the United States, to inquire into the moral character and bearings of our federal and state Constitutions and laws on the subject of slavery.

9. *Resolved*, That we deem it highly improper, for Christians to decline acting on the subject of slavery and emancipation, on account of the political character and bearings of these questions, because we cannot innocently suffer legal enactments to crush our brother, when the means of prevention are peaceable, and within our power.

OFFICERS FOR THE ENSUING YEAR.

President.

LEICESTER KING.

Vice-Presidents.

Alexander Campbell, *Brown County.*
James Gilliland, "
C. I. Finney, *Oberlin.*
Dr. Baugroft, *Granville.*
Reese E. Price, *Hamilton County.*
Francis Dunlavy, *Warren.*
Wm. Keys, *Highland.*
Richard Long, *Ross.*
Samuel Crothers, *Highland.*
Nathan Galbraith, *Columbiana.*
James Stewart, *Fayette.*
Edwin Conner, *Mt. Gilead.*
Dyer Burgess, *Adams.*
Mahlon Wileman, *Starke.*
Wm. R. Hudson, *Geauga.*
Samuel Denny, *Pickaway.*
Orestes K. Hawley, *Ashtabula.*
J. Jolliffe, *Clermont.*
Levi Whipple, *Muskingum.*
John Walker, *Harrison.*
Daniel Miller, *Seneca.*
L. S. Parker, *Mansfield.*
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Susan G Lukens, "
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James Fullerton, *Salem,*
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Eliza Grimes, "
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TREASURER'S ANNUAL REPORT.

Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society in account with William Donaldson for year commencing June 1st, 1838, and ending May 18th, 1839, inclusive.

DISBURSEMENTS.

Balance due the Treasurer on settlement,		$6 56
Cash paid Editor of the Philanthropist, Corresponding Secretary, Publishing Agent,		1409 71
" Lecturers and Travelling Expenses,		408 88
" American A. S. Soc., on Pledge,		606 82
" For Printing Philanthropist,		2174 02
" " Reports, Hand-Bills, Petitions, Pamphlets, &c.,		455 75
" For Paper,		1840 50
" For Anti-Slavery Publications,		981 42
" Office Expenses, as per weekly Statement,		467 22
" Counterfeit and uncurrent money,		31 70
" Law Expense, (Mob trials in Cincinnati,) $100; J. B. Mahan's case, $270,		370 00
" Colored Schools in Brown co.,		50 00
" Promissory Note for this am't, redeemed,		611 50
Total am't of Disbursements,		$9714 08

RECEIPTS.

Cash rec'd, of the Publishing Agent,		$4704 40
" By Donations and Pledges,		2676 97
" Uncurrent money sold,		7 10
" Loans,		604 00
" Paper returned,		30 00
" Of New Book Depository,		511 25
" At the Convention at Putnam,		1199 47
Total am't of Receipts,	$9733 19	
	$9714 08	
Balance in the Treasury on Settlement,		$19 11

REPORT

OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, *May* 29, 1839.

Your Committee, in presenting their Fourth Annual Report, cannot hope to bring to your notice, any new facts of importance; but they trust so to arrange their materials, as to convey some idea of the progress and present condition of the Anti-Slavery cause.

So far as they can judge, the Abolitionists of Ohio have not, during the past year, supported with their usual vigor their State organization. Less money has been contributed than formerly, and there has been a lamentable want of punctuality in the payment of pledges. A balance of more than $3000 still remains unredeemed, on pledges made last year at Granville, and the year before, at Mount Pleasant.

Owing to the want of means, and the difficulty of procuring suitable men, the Committee have had no general agents in their employ, until within the last three months, during which period, the Rev. Lorenzo D. Butts has been operating, as their principal agent. For a few months in the winter the services of Messrs. Samuel and William Cochran were secured; and occasionally, during the year, within a limited sphere, the Rev. John Rankin has been laboring under the direction of the Committee; but owing to the causes just mentioned, the Committee have not been able to adopt any general plan, for diffusing information in this way. Their publications have also been few, and, with the exception of the Annual Report and Mahan's Trial, not very important.

In connection with these statements, your Committee would call attention to the vigorous efforts recently put forth by the Colonization Society. Abolitionists believe that the Colonization scheme, in its practical operations, is an enemy to the colored race, and an adjunct of slavery. They know, that where its delusive principles have taken possession of the public mind, there anti-

slavery doctrines and measures are most unsparingly denounced. They are aware too, that all over the country, a system of measures is now in operation, for resuscitating a collapsed organization, and thereby attracting the anti-slavery sentiment which has been created by abolition-discussion, to the support of a cause, as visionary and absurd in its inception, as it has since been injurious and odiously oppressive in its operations. The West particularly, has been selected as the theatre of its action; and the most strenuous exertions have recently been made to enthrone it in the affections and confidence of the people. These facts are stated, that the comparative indifference of Ohio Abolitionists to the efficient support of their own State-organization may be seen in its true light.

But, if there be something to humble and awaken concern, there is much to excite hope and create confidence.

One reason why so much money has not been paid into the treasury of the State-Society is, that more has been expended by individual societies. While we cannot perceive the wisdom of suffering merely local efforts, to curtail the operations and diminish the efficiency of the state society, still we rejoice at the evidence thus furnished of unabated attachment to the cause.

The best feature of Western Abolition is, its unity of sentiment and purpose. If there be any universal reformers among us, they have too much discretion and honesty to think of using abolition societies as instruments in the promotion of their more general objects. We have long since learned to tolerate the peculiarities of each other. The peace question and other kindred topics, important as some think them, do not divide or agitate us. As Abolitionists, we are of one heart and one mind; and long may we continue so!

It will be gratifying to the Society to learn, that the circulation of its organ, the Philanthropist, has largely increased during the last six months. There has been some accession in the slave-states; and exchanges with Southern papers have been more easily effected. Influential papers in the South, which one year ago refused to receive the Philanthropist, have within a short period voluntarily sought an exchange;—thus furnishing grounds for the belief, that the South is gradually becoming convinced of the absurdity of closing its ears to a discussion, which involves the fate of one of its "domestic institutions."

The high ground of no discussion is certainly about to be aban-

doned by slaveholders'. They find it will not do to be still, while all Christendom is clamoring against them. Letters, addresses, sermons and essays have appeared in defence of slavery in rapid succession. The question of Abolition enters into their politics. It is the subject of their conversation and their thoughts. The grand idea of Abolition is fastened in their minds; and it is easy to predict the results. Its perfect reasonableness will force itself on their judgments, when the repeated contemplation of it shall have stripped it of its imaginary horrors. Men, when they begin to look about for arguments in a bad cause, though a mistaken self-interest may at first lead them to attach a factitious weight to them, will be apt, in the course of their researches, to alight upon principles and facts, that shall ultimately in their own minds work out the truth, and impel them to renounce what now they defend. A minister in South Carolina, some years ago, fell in with a tract, which started a doubt in his mind with regard to the rightfulness of slave-holding. Determined to be on the safe side, he at once emancipated his slaves, so far as the laws of the state permitted; and commenced a Scriptural investigation of the question of slavery. From Genesis to Revelations, he prosecuted his inquiries, till he had convinced himself that Slavery was *right*. Immediately he published a series of articles containing the results of his researches. He was anxious to establish others as well as himself, on Bible grounds. But his mind had broken loose from its torpor. Investigation was not, could not be, abandoned. He naturally became interested to see what was said on the other side. His confidence was again shaken; he resumed his inquiries; truth gradually opened to him; he fell on the right track; now he is a believer in the doctrine of Immediate Abolition.

"Open your mouths, gentlemen; that is all we ask,"—said John Quincy Adams. When they open their mouths, they open the way for conviction. The naked deformity of the principles, to which Chancellor Harper was compelled to resort in defence of slavery, must ere this have convinced many sagacious men in the South of its unchanging, utter wrongfulness.

And discussion in the North has also vastly increased. The newspaper press yet, to a great extent, is still; but the press, like the pulpit, will move, when well assured that the mass is moving. Meantime, every mind is more or less agitated on the question. The sound of Abolition has gone out into all the land. Our ene-

mies are contributing their part to the general excitement. Atherton's gag, the Black Bill of Ohio, and Henry Clay's speech have occasioned tenfold more discussion, than prevailed before. That Southern editor was more hasty than wise, who exclaimed on reading the speech of the pro-slavery statesman,—"He commanded the rude waves of Abolition and they were still,"—and even Mr. Calhoun, was somewhat over-confident, when with solemn joy he advertised the country of the death of Abolition by the hand of the Kentucky orator. This speech had the good fortune to attract the attention of one of the most distinguished divines of the age, and one of the best political editors of the country. For the eloquent letter of Dr. Channing, and the caustic, searching review of Charles Hammond, the nation is indebted to this effort of the slave-holding power to subdue Abolitionism. The question of slavery is now before the American people; and the conviction every where is gaining ground, that it must be fairly met, and fully settled.

This leads us to remark, that our principles have advanced much beyond our organization. A far greater amount of anti-slavery sentiment is abroad in the country, than existed twelve months ago. Even the more intelligent classes of Colonizationists confess the influence of Abolition principles on their own organization.

Four things Abolitionists have succeeded in producing:—

A widely-spread, increasing conviction of the right and necessity of discussing the question of slavery:

A general belief that its doom is sealed:

A more lively interest in the true honor of the country, and in the redemption of the slave:

And a consciousness of wrong inflicted on the free man of color, united with an earnest solicitude to meliorate his condition.

Another circumstance we take delight in adverting to, is the steadfast adherence of Ohio Abolitionists to their principles in political action. At our last annual meeting, resolutions were unanimously adopted, insisting on the duty of political consistency. Sometime previous to the last general election, a strong disposition prevailed among Abolitionists, to carry out these resolutions in practice, and maintain, at the ballot-box, anti-slavery principles inviolate. Candidates in numerous sections were interrogated: where no answers were received from either party, Abolitionists remained at home; where the questions were answered favorably by one party and unfavorably by the other, Abolition-votes were generally cast

for the former, without reference to party. This line of conduct being adopted by the great body of Abolitionists, it so happened that the political power of the State changed hands. The particular causes of the change ought to be well understood.

The first was, the arrest of Mr. Mahan, and his precipitate delivery by our Executive, to the authorities of Kentucky, to be tried for an offence, which his accusers did not even pretend was committed within the limits of that State. This act excited much indignation among not only Abolitionists, but many of the Society of Friends, and other citizens, who felt scandalized at what they considered, a flagrant sacrifice of state-sovereignty. A large number of those who had previously favored the re-election of Governor Vance, withdrew their support, and either voted for his opponent, or absented themselves from the polls. When it is recollected, that no announcement had yet been made of the fact, that both candidates had refused to answer the questions propounded to them, it is not to be wondered at, that so many should have thrown their votes for the opposing candidate. Had the fact been announced in season, this step would evidently have been improper. All that could with propriety have been done, would have been, to abstain from voting. As it was, however, this defection from the whig candidate, favored his opponent's election.

Another cause, was the refusal of whig Abolitionists to vote, on the general ticket. This, we are inclined to believe, was a general fact. The whigs taking it for granted that Anti-Slavery men were not sincere, but would work in party traces, whether the load were such as suited them or not, did not deign to consult their principles. The result should be a lesson to them.

Still further, an impression prevailed to a considerable extent among our friends, that Thomas Ewing was decidedly hostile to the Anti-Slavery cause. Thomas Morris, on the other hand, was known everywhere as having stepped forward as the champion of human liberty, when assailed Congress before last by the South Carolina Senator; his whole course, in fact, for the last two years, had been marked by a consistent, an honest, and a well-directed hostility to the slave-holding interest. Now, as the choice of Senator is dependent on the Legislature, many Abolitionists bestowed their suffrages in view of this fact, irrespectively of parties.

We do not justify their course; we think it was wrong. Legislators are sent to the Assembly to pass laws, as well as elect senators.

To vote for a candidate, simply because he had pledged himself to favor the re-election of Thomas Morris, without knowing his sentiments on the Black Laws, or with the knowledge that they were unfavorable, was unwise, and inconsistent with the principles of political action adopted by the Society.

The influence of Abolitionists on this transfer of power, was generally acknowledged. Need ye say, that we rejoice in the fact! Not because the democratic party thereby acquired an ascendancy which it has abused, but because the Abolitionists of Ohio demonstrated at once their power, and their stern resolution to abide by their principles.

Shall we be told, that they were duped! That the men who answered well, acted treacherously? Be it so. The dishonor attaches to the heads of the traitors: Abolitionists cannot be blamed for their treachery. They will know such men hereafter, and will, also, not forget to consider the general character of a candidate, before they repose confidence in fair words. But the majority of them was not duped; for so far as we can judge, it did not vote at all, having confidence in none.

It may further be urged, that the results of legislative action this year, do not attest the wisdom of their course. The obvious answer to this is,—if the principles of political action adopted at the last annual meeting be *right*, and in accordance with the doctrines involved in Abolitionism, they need give themselves no uneasiness about present results. They are not responsible for the scandalous acts of the legislature. For the crouching servility and deep criminality of Flood's resolutions and Lowwe's Black Bill, those politicians are responsible, who refused to put up candidates that a genuine republican could support. Besides, it is not known, that, if Abolitionists had voted according to precedent, and the power had thus been left in the same hands, legislative action would have been in any respect different. After having interrogated candidates without obtaining any satisfaction, and passed resolutions enjoining consistency of political action, if they had then gone to the polls as usual, the presumption is that the successful candidates would have looked upon them as hypocritical in their avowals, a class of persons, whose wishes could be disregarded with entire impunity.

As it is, nothing is done by the Assembly that cannot be undone. No detriment has been sustained by Abolition. Ohio is disgraced, and a temporary triumph has been gained by the slave holder: but,

Abolitionists are as powerful as ever, and more so; while the deep indignation caused by the servility of a base legislature, is a pledge that our noble State shall speedily be redeemed. Meantime, Abolitionists have given such proof of devotion to their principles, as politicians will be apt to remember; and the probabilities are certainly increased, that suitable candidates hereafter will more generally be brought out. If it should not be so, we see no other course for Abolitionists to pursue, than the one already commenced. Persistence in it will at length impel politicians, by the strong motive of self-interest, to consult more the demands of a growing *free* sentiment at the North, than the wishes of the haughty slaveholder.

The necessity of political action against slavery, in consistent and constitutional modes, will become more manifest when we consider the arrogant and aggressive character of the slaveholding interest. Many sagacious minds, not yet prepared to adhere to our organization, have been aroused, by events in the last year, to the perilous predominance of this power. A monopoly of the most odious and exorbitant kind, it is radically and unchangeably at war with the republican principle of equality of rights. It aims, from its very nature at supremacy; and supremacacy it will have at any expense. Where it does not bear rule, its claims, it is aware, will be scrutinized, its exactions resisted, its power curtailed. Where it is predominant, it may find means to arrest inquiry, and fulfil, unchecked, its most hateful designs upon the liberties of those, from whom it apprehends danger. It was this interest, that exterminated the free population of ancient Italy, peopled it with slaves, filled Rome with a truculent mob, resisted the noble efforts of the Gracchi to raise the poor who had been trampled down by its power, and finally effected the overthrow of the Republic. In our own country, by a most unwise provision of the Federal Constitution, one which never would have been assented to by the anti-slavery states, unless under the full impression that slavery was speedily to be extinguished, the slaveholding interest has peculiar privileges conferred upon it, thus acquiring additional power for working that evil, to which it is inevitably determined by its intense, malignant selfishness. In a constitution which, in theory, assumes population to be the proper basis of representation, the strange anomaly is presented, of a large class of citizens privileged with a property-representation. This peculiarity in the structure of our government goes far to explain the wonderful energy and unity of the slavery

interest, and the base servility of Northern politicians. The following remarks respecting it by E. S. Abdy, an enlightened foreigner, are peculiarly clear and forcible.

"ON THE BASIS OF AMERICAN REPRESENTATION.

"*To the Editor of the Emancipator:*

"In the 'Constitution' of the North American States, article 1, section 2, is the following passage:—'Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, *three-fifths* of all other *persons*' (meaning *slaves*.) Had a like number of horses in the North been counted as human beings, matters would easily have adjusted themselves to an arrangement so equitable; and the functions of the body politic would have been as homogeneous as its structure; the political humility, which is now annexed to men degraded into cattle, would have been extended to cattle exalted into men; and the improvement of agriculture would have been commensurate with that of humanity. It is honorable to our nature that the effects of this principle have escaped the notice of superficial inquirers. The instinctive respect for our species has exempted it from the debasing calculations; and he whom our avarice has made a beast of burden is still a man to our affections. To the philosopher, however, who can abstract his feelings from his reflections, and distinguish a rational theory from a visionary hypothesis, two *conflicting* elements are plainly perceptible in the American constitution; one which gives influence to *property* in the South, and the other which gives influence to *persons* in the North. The result has been, that the collective body is moved by a power equal to the difference between these antagonist forces; and as the South, from unity of purpose and of interest, exercises an ascendancy over the other section, which wants a similar bond of sympathy, the slave-holding states keep the others in a state of vassalage, which has become too galling for the dread even of separation to tolerate much longer. 'The subserviency of the government to the feelings of the slave-holders'—(to use an expression of Sir Charles Vaughan, our Ambassador at Washington in Dec. 1833)—'has done *infinite mischief to their national character in the eyes of Europe.*' A writer who should treat upon the North American constitution without noticing this important principle in its *basis*, would be like the manager who 'got up' the play of *Hamlet* with the part of Hamlet omitted. De Tocqueville has entirely overlooked this remarkable feature in the Anglo-American '*Democracy*.' By this ingenious omission he has made the spirit of republican institutions responsible for the sins of aristocracy.

"To those who have paid but little attention to the peculiarity of the abolition question in North America, these observations may perhaps serve to explain that article in the federal constitution which incorporates the principle of forced labor with the union of the States, and gives to one-half of those *miscalled* republics a direct interest in its continuance.

"If the question were one of religion or humanity alone, the 'best policy' might be brought home to the 'business and bosom' of the planter, and a happy termination of the conflict might be reasonably expected. But the subject is, unfortunately, connected with feelings which, as they affect the politician, inflame the passions, while they quiet the conscience of the individual. The sense of personal duty is merged in attachment to State rights; the South finds in the representative privileges annexed to a wicked and ruinous species of property, a counterbalance to the superior intelligence of the North; and the power which slavery confers on the statesman at Washington, is cherished in exact proportion to the weakness which it entails upon the owner at home. The slave states are, in point of fact, the *rotten boroughs* of the United States, opposed to the

just demands of Commerce and Liberty;—with mortgaged property, augmented expenditure, and a decreasing number of citizens. Happy will it be for the great empire of the New World, if its dismemberment alone should result from the collision of these discordant interests!' 'E. S. ABDY."

The history of the injurious action of the slaveholding power on and through the General Government constitutes the subject of Mr. Jay's new work—a production peculiarly fitted to show the continual inroads of Slavery on the principles of the constitution and the best interests of the nation. The Committee would call the attention of the Society to facts similar to those contained in that book, but of a more recent date.

June 1st, 1838, the bill to divide the territory of Wisconsin, and establish the territorial government of Iowa being under discussion, in the Senate of the United States, on motion of *Mr. Clay, of Alabama*, all but *white* males were excluded from the right of suffrage under the bill. In the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the North-Western Territory, no restriction was imposed on the rights of colored people. It did not enchain a man on account of color. The framers of that instrument did not dare to do it. The moral sense of the confederated states would have revolted at the attempt as a mockery of those principles of liberty and equality, which the fathers of the Revolution had consecrated with their blood. Since then, the slaveholding interest has become paramount, and Congress resolves, in the most unequivocal manner, without discussion, to exclude all but white persons from the right of suffrage, in a territory under its jurisdiction. A few members were excused in dissent.

The [illegible] power, in the House of the former session, [illegible] June 16th, 1838, a debate took place in the House upon the [illegible] government of Iowa. Mr. Wise, of Virginia, who had been one of the foremost to oppose the annexation of Texas, opposed the bill on the ground, that it went to increase the slaveholding power, and thereby change the balance of power between the slaveholding and [illegible] part of the Union." And Mr. [illegible] on the propriety of receiving [illegible] which might have been [illegible]

Last year [illegible] Senate of the United States, Senator Preston [illegible] Virginia [illegible] South Carolina, and if [illegible] we will try him. And notwithstanding this [illegible] governments on earth, including

the Federal Government, WE WILL HANG HIM." The choice of the Ohio whig convention for the vice-presidency of the United States, was Senator Preston. Had they forgotten this brutal threat, or was it, in their eyes, a recommendation? But one man rebuked the haughty slaveholder, and *he* has since fallen under the ban of the slavery-party.

The election for senator at the late session of one legislature, was controlled by this formidable interest. Thomas Morris, by his unconcealed hostility to its gross usurpations, had incurred its deepest hatred. Sometime before the election, its will was expressed in leading papers in the slave-states. The word went forth that Thomas Morris must be displaced: his re-election would be an insult to the South. He had sustained the administration faithfully. He was perfectly sound in the faith of the party, had been an able advocate of its policy on the floor of Congress, and was a pillar of its strength in the West. But a servile legislature had heard the command; and among other questions propounded by the Democratic party to their candidates was this—"Are you for or against modern abolitionism." Morris answered like a freeman, and was rejected. Benjamin Tappan declared himself against it, and was elected. The slaveholding interest dictated to Ohio, with her twelve hundred thousand freemen, the choice of her senator; and who is offended? None but Abolitionists.

December 11th, 1838, Mr. Atherton, member from New Hampshire, at the instigation of this power, introduced in the House, the following resolutions.

"ABOLITION—RIGHT OF PETITION, &c.

December 11th.

"The State of New Hampshire having been called,

"Mr. ATHERTON rose and asked leave, at this time to offer the following resolutions, which were read for the information of the House.

"*Resolved*, That this Government is a government of limited powers, and that by the Constitution of the United States, Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the institution of slavery in the several States of the confederacy.

"*Resolved*, That the petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories of the United States, and against the removal of slaves from one State to another, are a part of a plan of operations, set on foot to affect the institution of slavery in the several States, and thus indirectly to destroy that institution within their limits.

"*Resolved*, That Congress has no right to do that indirectly which it cannot do directly; and that the agitation of the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia, or the Territories, as a means, and with a view of disturbing or overthrowing that institution in the several States, is against the true spirit and meaning of the Constitution, an infringement of the rights of the States affected, and a breach of the public faith on which they entered into the Confederacy.

"*Resolved*, That the Constitution rests on the broad principles of equality among the members of the Confederacy, and that Congress, in the exercise of its acknowledged powers, has no right to discriminate between the institutions of one portion of the States and another, with a view of abolishing the one and promoting the other.

"*Resolved, therefore*, That all attempts on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia or the Territories, or to prohibit the removal of slaves from State to State or to discriminate between the institutions of one part of the country and another with the view aforesaid, are in violation of the Constitution, destructive of the fundamental principles on which the Union of these States rests, and beyond the powers entrusted to Congress; and that every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition, or paper touching or relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to slavery, as aforesaid, or the abolition thereof, shall, on the presentation thereof, without any further action thereon, be laid on the table without being debated, printed or referred."

This is the fourth time the slaveholder has deliberately trodden down the right of petition! But, so long as the people of the free states send members to Congress, who will consent to the outrage, they show a servility which signally qualifies them for the station of hewers of wood and drawers of water for the South.

The vote on the gag-resolution stood thus:—

Northern members in favor of the gag,		Democrats,	53
"	"	Whigs,	none
		Total—	53
Slaveholders in favor of the gag.		Democrats,	33
"	"	Whigs,	40
		Total—	73
Slaveholders opposed to the gag.		Democrat,	1
"	"	Whigs,	5
		Total—	6
Absent	Northern Democrats,	11	
"	" Whigs,	7	
		Total—	18
"	Slaveholding Democrats,	9	
"	" Whigs,	11	
		Total—	20
		Total Absent	38

It will be perceived, that the slaveholding delegation went in solid phalanx for the resolution; and that had the free state-delegation been equally united, the country would have escaped this new degradation. But a slavish democracy, pretending to represent the genuine republicanism of the North, bent its neck for the yoke, and

submitted to be used by the slaveholder in breaking down a great constitutional right.

The progress of despotism is gradual. The tyrant is not apt to reveal his full purposes at once. At first, he is content with striking indirectly at some minor right. If this attack be tolerated, a greater one is next assailed. In the beginning he is a man of forms. Give him but the substance, and he is exemplary in his devotion to the shadow. But, finding at length no formidable resistance in the free spirit of the people to his insidious designs, emboldened by the remembrance that his most flagrant usurpations have wicked up but momentary excitements, he throws off the veil and discovers himself—a relentless despot. Then forms are disregarded, and, what, before he aimed covertly, with a show of right, to accomplish, he now seizes with the naked arm of ferocious power. Let the people of the free states beware. The slaveholder has been so long accustomed to regard brute force as the parent of all prerogative, as to feel no more respect for political, than natural rights. The same arm that rules the slave, would crush the freeman.

We wonder at the stupidity of the citizens of the free states. Have they never learned that the time to lay hands on grasping power, is when its nature is first known? The slaveholding interest in both Houses of Congress, has dared to question not the right of petition, though still the people are permitted to use the form. At this moment, if it dare, it would reject petitions at once, and thus in form, as well as fact, annihilate the right. We know this is its ulterior object, for slaveholders themselves declare, that the present system of disposing of petitions, is only a compromise, in which the South generously concedes something for the sake of peace. Mr. Ells, democratic candidate for Congress in one of the districts of Alabama, in a recent reply to a letter addressed him by his political friends, betrays the true design of the slaveholder. He says—

"I now announce it as my deliberate determination, should it please the people of this district to honor me with a seat in Congress, to vote for an immediate rejection of all petitions, memorials, &c., tending in any manner to agitate the subject of the abolition of slavery, or to disturb the owners of slaves in the peaceable enjoyment of their property—a right which I consider as being sacred, and protected by the highest constitutional sanction."

Such an attempt formally to abrogate the right of petition will probably be made at the next session of Congress; for what grounds have we for hope, in view of the alarming encroachments of slavery

on our institutions during the past year, that its claims shall be abated next!

That the Atherton resolutions do not come up to the full demands of slaveholders, may be seen further from the following resolutions, introduced by Mr Wise, [illegible] on those of the New Hampshire Senate:

"1st, *Resolved*, That Congress has [illegible] to the District of Columbia or to the [illegible] in said District of [illegible] disturbance [illegible]

"2d, *Resolved*, That [illegible] that the text of the Constitution [illegible] Territories of the United States [illegible] Territories of the U. S.

"3d, *Resolved*, That Congress [illegible] for the exercise of any power which [illegible] gress does not possess.

"4th, *Resolved*, That the laws of [illegible] and regulating the mode and manner [illegible] and their records [illegible] and manner [illegible] slave states.

"5th, *Resolved*, That Congress [illegible] abolition of [illegible]

"6th, *Resolved*, That [illegible] have the [illegible] slaveholding [illegible] same, and [illegible] Government [illegible] there [illegible] null and void.

These resolutions were evidently aimed at the sovereignty of the free states, and, if passed, would force upon the citizens of the South. Compare the above set up with the provisions of a recent act of the Alabama legislature, respecting free persons of color.

"FREE NEGROES.—The legislature of Alabama have passed an act prescribing that every free person of color coming into that State and residing there as cook, waiter, servant, or under any other name or employment, shall be deemed a free person of color, and under a penalty of [illegible] dollars, if any free person of color shall [illegible] such person shall receive [illegible] lashes, and if [illegible] the State [illegible] the penalty [illegible] she shall be [illegible] of any vessel [illegible] of any free person of color [illegible] in the sum of [illegible] dollars, [illegible] for any free person of color. The 6th section [illegible] a slave for life [illegible] *the state of Alabama, after the* [illegible] shall not take effect until the [illegible] of August next. The 7th section

makes it lawful for any person to seize upon and make a slave for life, any free person of color who may be found in the state of Alabama, after the passage of this act, and who shall have come into the State since its passage. Approved Feb. 2, 1839."—*Louisianian.*

To say nothing of the diabolical wickedness of this act, we may remark, that it legalizes the kidnapping and perpetual enslavement of citizens of the free states; for it is well known, that in some of the states, as Massachusetts and New York, persons of color possessed of certain qualifications, are admitted to citizenship. The law is, therefore, a flagrant violation of section 2d of the fourth article of the federal constitution, which declares, that "The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states;" and also of that clause in the 5th article of amendments, which provides that, no person shall "be deprived of life, *liberty* or property, without due process of law." While slaveholders thus ruthlessly trample under foot two of the most important provisions of the federal constitution, and assume the right of stealing and reducing to perpetual slavery, citizens of the free states, they demand that Congress, by an unconstitutional exercise of power, shall outrage the sovereignty of these states, and limit the action of their domestic institutions, in order that they may establish slavery within their limits, and enjoy privileges there, which free state citizens, cannot, if they would, enjoy. And yet, in popular estimation that man is *odious*, who ventures to plant himself in opposition to the exorbitant, abominable aggressions of this all-grasping power. Blind to the encroachments of despotism, stupidly insensible to their own degradation, there are multitudes in the free states, whose sordid conduct is emboldening the slaveholder to still more flagrant exactions.

Freedom of debate in Congress is no less abridged, than the right of petition. Mr. Adams, in his celebrated speech, on the proposed annexation of Texas, happened to allude, by way of illustrating a particular point, to the treatment he had formerly experienced, on presenting a petition from slaves. The Speaker (a slaveholder) immediately interposed, and pronounced him out of order.

"Mr. Adams replied in a firm tone, that he was perfectly in order. He had charged upon a majority of the House, a systematic suppression of petitions: and he was adducing now a striking illustration of the fact.

"Mr. Adams then proceeded to comment on the case of the slave petition, when he was again interrupted by Mr. Legare of South Carolina, who insisted that he was out of order.

"The Speaker concurred with Mr. Legare, and told Mr. A. that such a course of remark could not be allowed.

"The ex-President then rose, and with great warmth declared that he was not out of order—that his remarks were most pertinent to the subject—that he had a right to introduce illustrations—historical illustrations—of the charge he made against the House—and if not permitted by the Speaker to do so, he would appeal to the House, and demand the ayes and noes, that the country might know who were the men that were prepared to destroy the freedom of speech, as they had already trampled on the right of petition."

The Speaker began to state the question, but was interrupted by Mr. Adams with the request, that he would cause the clerk to take down the words pronounced out of order. Instantly, great confusion arose. Tumultuous cries of order! order! resounded all over the house. At length, the noise having somewhat subsided, the following colloquy was heard.

"The Speaker—'The gentleman will take his seat—he is out of order.'

"Mr. Adams—'I insist on the disorderly words being taken down.'

"The Speaker—'The gentleman must take his seat.'

"Mr. Adams—'I call for the reading of the rule which requires exceptionable words to be put in writing.'

"The greatest commotion and confusion now prevailed, in the midst of which neither Mr. Adams nor the Speaker could be heard, though both were manifestly talking with great vehemence; their gesticulation certainly was most violent.

"When their voices could be distinguished the following colloquy was heard.

"The Speaker.—'The gentleman is out of order.'

"Mr. Adams—'I say I am *not*.'

"The Speaker—'The gentleman must take his seat.'

"Mr. Adams, (still standing)—'Let the rule be read for which I have called.'

"The Speaker—'I call on the House to enforce its order.'

"Mr. Adams—'And I also call on the House to enforce its rules.'

"Mr. Grantland, of Georgia. 'I hope the sergeant-at-arms will take the gentleman into custody.'

"Cries of 'order! order!' 'Read the rule!' 'Take your seat,' resounded now on all sides.

"When quiet was restored, Mr. Adams expressed a hope that the House would decide the question on the appeal, although the Speaker had stated the matter at issue most incorrectly.

"The decision of the chair was sustained, of course."——

By the Southern delegation, and by 61 members from the free states. The members from Ohio, who voted with the servile party, were, Thomas L. Hamer, H. Hunter, Matthias Shepler, D. P. Leadbetter,—*Democrats*. John W. Allen, and A. W. Loomis,—*Whigs*. No administration member from Ohio voted against the decision. The Whigs from Ohio, who opposed it, were, Patrick G. Goode, Thomas Corwin, Samson Mason, Elisha Whittlesey.

It is well known to those, who have given themselves the trouble to inquire, that the slave-trade is carried on to a shameful extent in the city of of Washington. The following brief description of it

is furnished by Mr. Giddings, in an address to his constituents, published a few months since, in the Ashtabula Sentinel.

"The purchase and sale of slaves in Washington has become a regular business. The country around is one of the great nurseries of slaves, which has gradually become a source of profit. The principal part of the commerce of the nation, for many years, has consisted in the transportation of slaves destined for sale, until their owners could dispose of them to the cotton planters. From the funds belonging to the people of this nation are raised the means of carrying on the slave trade. Besides the jail there are several houses for the reception of slaves, appended to the establishment of slavery. These houses and the jail in full view of the capitol, are the receptacles of all the horror and unutterable anguish attendant upon the separation of parents and children, husbands and wives, or being torn from home and country, and friends, and doomed to a certain death among the graves of the southern rice and cotton plantations. Many instances shocking to the feelings of humanity are related by those who reside there. The public papers that contain the journal of the National Legislature, also contain notices of the purchase and the sale of slaves. 'SALES AT AUCTION,' where immortal human beings are sold at public vendue, are heralded forth in the government papers. In the most populous parts of the city, on the most beautiful avenue of the Metropolis, men, women and children are sold at public vendue. All restraint is thrown off. The regular slave trader pursues his vocation—purchases his cargo of men or beings and sends them to other States or to Texas with as little apparent compunctions of conscience as he who follows the driving of cattle. He purchases a license for four hundred dollars per annum, and then with perfect impunity follows a practice which, if pursued on the African coast, would by our laws constitute piracy. Strange as it may seem, the crime for which he would be hanged if committed in Africa he commits here for the price of $400 per annum, and mingles with the people, freely enters the capitol with the Representatives of the nation, sits in the galleries with the most virtuous and respectable citizens of these U. States. Emboldened by the fact that Congress has nothing shall be and protected them, they have during the past winter drawn their victims under and franchise, chained, past the Capitol in view of both houses of Congress of foreign Ministers and representatives of foreign governments residing at Washington, and all that vast concourse of strangers usually found in Washington during the winter session of Congress. The outrages upon the laws of humanity and upon our national character, have deeply attracted our reputation among the civilized nations of the earth."

One might suppose, that the slaveholders themselves, for the sake of arresting the growing excitement against slavery, would be anxious, or at least willing, to have this monstrous traffic put down. We shall see. A motion having been introduced in the House, by Mr. Giddings, to strike out the enacting clause of the bill to erect a bridge over the eastern branch of the Potomac, he attempted, Feb 13th, to make a speech in its support. His chief reason for urging the motion was, the probability of a removal of the seat of government to a free state; and the chief ground of the probability was, the existence of the slave-trade in the District. He then proceeded to speak of the revolting aspect of this traffic to members from the free states, but was repeatedly called to order by the slaveholding members, and the Chair, however reluctantly, summoned him.

"I, for one," said Mr. Giddings, "will never consent to hold our national council where we cannot look upon our worthies without the liability of having our feelings wounded by seeing one [illegible] upon the Chair." My feelings indiscriminately shocked [illegible] and my pride is [illegible] and my person is [illegible] with horror to it. From our [illegible] ...

"Mr. Hazard was [illegible] Mr. G.

"The Chair sustained Mr. H[illegible] point of order to joining From this decision Mr. H appealed, and the proceedings resulted in refusing Mr. G. permission to proceed in his remarks.

Such is the [illegible] debate in the Congress of this Republic. The slaveholding power will not even suffer allusion to be made to that traffic, which when carried on, upon the open seas, the Federal Government has branded as piracy. It sees too clearly the identity of principle, of the slave-trade and slavery; and that where one is struck, the other is wounded.

During the last session of Congress, the subject of our relations with Hayti, came up for discussion, on the presentation of numerous memorials respecting it. France, England, and other civilized nations have already treated with this Republic, as an independent power; but the United States, obedient to slaveholding dictation, still sullenly refuses to recognize her. In consequence of this, certain claims of some of our citizens against the Haytien government have remained unsettled. Besides our trade with that Island, of more value than that with any one of the independent South American states, has for years been rapidly diminishing, under a discriminating duty of ten per cent. charged on importations from the United States, higher than on goods from any other country. From upwards of two millions of dollars, it has been reduced to about one million, and is now fast falling; it is said, into the hands of the French. The question of the recognition of this government was clearly one, of much interest to the North. But, the slaveholding power, as usual, prevailed. When the subject was brought up for discussion, slaveholders resorted to their usual machinery of intimidation and party-management, by which they have so long governed the free states. They attempted to treat Congress on this subject, just as they had done, previous to the [illegible] December 17th, Mr. Wise moved to reconsider the vote, by which so much of one of the Haytien memorials, as referred to international relations, &c. had been referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. In support of the motion, he made a most inflammatory speech, the object of which was to prevail on the House to deny reception

to all such petitions. A few extracts will fairly represent the slave holding spirit.

"The right of petition," said Mr. Wise, "is not absolute and unconditional, as the gentleman seems to suppose; it is modified—modified by the Constitution—modified by the state of things in a particular part of the country—modified by the mutual relations of the States—modified by the peculiar condition of our Southern People."

"By the peculiar condition of our Southern people!" We know not what right secured by the federal constitution, or what interest belonging to the free states, is not modified and restricted "by the peculiar condition of the Southern people."

Again:

"There is no use for recognising a Government of insurrectionists, a nation of slaves, who have sworn, at their earliest threats, for the sake of establishing new commercial relations with them. We are told of the spoliations by Christophe, and that no reparation will be made till we recognise the Black Republic. Sir, there are national remedies other than recognition. There is such a thing as war. We can, if necessary, compel this indemnity. There is no necessity for a recognition which is to open a war with the interests and feelings of a portion of our own people. The amount of these claims cannot be very great. The security was of private property; it is a fair subject for letters of marque and reprisal."

And so Mr. Wise would rather go to war, break up a useful commerce, and injure the interests of the whole nation, than acquiesce in a measure, demanded by the county of nations, and which almost could but conflict with the mere prejudices, of only a fourth part of the people of the United States! But, he proceeds, "The South—the South—the peculiar relations of the South must decide the question.

"The gentleman tells us that our agent was arrested at the threshold for want of a regular commission. Yes, sir, and shall the South, for a paltry sum due for seizures, as for a sum equal to the whole value of Hayti, and of the United States to boot, be compelled to yield those high considerations which are vital to her safety? We abstained before, it seems, for fear of a quarrel with France. And pray how come it since France recognized this black Republic of Hayti. Four years, or there-about. Yet now, when abolition rages, now, for the first time, we hear that we must recognise, because France has recognized her. We refused, before, on account of the pernicious example, and out of deference to the feelings and peculiar relations of the South; and would the example be less dangerous now?"

Again,—

"Why, sir, what would be said should we do such a thing after all the events we have lately witnessed? Not it is the abolition spirit alone which would have us to say these men, whose hands are yet red with their masters' blood, 'You shall be recognized as freemen, we wish to establish international relations with you.' Never will I, never will my constituents, be forced into this. We never will be driven to say, in effect, to our own slaves, when you have cut the throats of your masters, you will be acknowledged by England and by the Northern States as republican freemen. We are bound to repudiate all

requests of such a kind. We are bound to do so by the compact of our Confederation. The incendiary march is advancing further and further. I would arrest it by arresting all such petitions before they reach that table. How long we shall be able to resist it afterwards, God in his mercy only knows."

December 22, a similar discussion again arose on a motion to refer a Haytien memorial presented by Mr. Adams.

Mr. Bynum contended—"That we were not bound, in all cases, to recognize independent governments. We have a right to refuse to view the fact, that the recognition of an insurrection by a foreign independent government would have an unfavorable effect upon the peace of this part of the Union. The appearance and example of a black empire in our neighborhood must give the slaves to revolt. It would be a dagger struck to the heart and vitals of the Southern country. He denied the principle assumed by Mr. Adams, that we were bound, looking to these circumstances, we were bound to recognize any government that was a government *de facto*. He differed with those of his friends who thought this subject might safely be urged here. *The friends of abolition had entered this House, but they had entered it with muzzles on their mouths*, which he hoped we should be able to keep there. The *South* would not recognize the independence of Hayti. Any *Southern* man who favored such a step was a traitor to the *South*. The gentleman from Massachusetts had said that we ought not to fear the abolitionists. Sir, when the proper time comes, we will show them whether we fear them. We will show them not here, but at a proper place—wherever we fear them."

Such was the mode pursued by slaveholders again and again, to intimidate Northern members, and prevent the recognition of Hayti. They failed, it is true, in causing the rejection of the petitions, but they gained all they needed. The petitions were referred to a Committee, which, it was well understood at the time, would never act upon them. A single paragraph from the report of the debate on the 17th of December, as published in the National Intelligencer, deserves to be recorded in this connection.

"Mr. *Hunter*, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, suggested to Mr. Wise that he had better suppress the reference of this part of the memorial to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It was not a new case. Several similar memorials had been sent that session, which had never been reported on. This would take a similar course; it would be SMOTHERED AGAIN."

We know not how a deeper insult could have been offered to the people of the free states. Better, far better, to have rejected the petitions at once, than thus have mocked the petitioners.

On the 4th of February, Mr. Slade begged leave to present a resolution, and asked that it might be read, for the information of the House. The scene that ensued is thus described by a correspondent of the United States Gazette.

"Mr. Waddy Thompson, of S. C.—I object, for to the reading of the resolution; and if no other member will do it, I will object to any resolution that the gentleman from Vermont may offer."

A member rose and said that he demanded the reading of the resolution. He had a right to make the demand, and insisted on its reading.

The Speaker directed the clerk to read.

The Clerk—(reading)—Whereas, on the 30th day of December, a body of thirty men, and women, and children, passed the city of Washington, and in front of the Capitol, in *chains*,——

[Loud cries of 'Order, order!'—'I object.'—'It is insulting to the house, and to the South!' 'It shall not be read.'—&c., &c.]

The clerk was directed to suspend the reading, and great sensation was produced."

The resolution was withdrawn, and notice given, that it would be presented at some future period. We here subjoin it.

"Whereas, on the 30th day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine, there were Given by the doors of the capitol of the United States, in view of members of both Houses of Congress, thirty men, chained and handcuffed, together with twenty women and children. And whereas, there are circumstances which justify a strong suspicion that it was for no offence against the laws of the United States, or any of the States, that said men, women and children were chained, handcuffed and driven as aforesaid;—Therefore,

Resolved, That a committee of seven members of this House be forthwith appointed to inquire and report:

1. The authority under which the said men, women and children were thus chained, handcuffed, and driven as aforesaid:

2. Whether they are charged with the commission of crimes; and if so, of what crimes, and when and where committed:

3. Whether they had been convicted of crimes; and if so, of what crimes, and by what tribunal convicted; and

4. Whether the persons who chained, handcuffed, and drove the said men, women and children were officers of the United States, duly authorised to have the custody of criminals within the District of Columbia; and if so, whether they committed said men, women and children to the common jail of said district for trial, or to the penitentiary thereof for punishment.

Resolved, That said committee be authorized to send for persons and papers, and to report to this House by bill or otherwise."

From the turbulent behaviour of slaveholders on this occasion, it is evident, that they are determined to concede nothing to the feelings of the people of the free states. On the contrary, they have resolved to make them associates, in their worst crimes, and compel them, with sealed lips and fettered hands, to witness daily the most loathsome atrocities of the infernal slave-trade.

January 9th, in the Senate, Mr. Prentiss presented resolutions of the legislature of Vermont, on the subject of slavery in the District, the inter-state slave-trade, Texas, &c; and moved that they be laid on the table and printed. The motion was divided; they were laid on the table, but the motion to print, a courtesy always extended to the resolutions or memorials of sovereign states, was voted down by the slaveholding power. The arrogant language of slaveholding politicians, we blush to say, met with no rebuke. With as

much apparent insensibility, as if his state had not been insulted, and the rights of the free states outraged, the Senator from Vermont meekly requested that the resolutions might be printed, protesting with all humility, that it was far from his thoughts, to create any excitement.

"Mr. King, of Alabama, said the gentleman from Vermont well knew that if Congress should undertake *to act on the subject in any way whatever, the Union would not see one day.* [No, *not one hour*, said Mr. Calhoun.] That moment, continued Mr. King, when Congress undertakes *to legislate on the subject of slavery, I will leave my seat and go home*, and tell my constituents that the compact has been violated, and that the Union is at an end.

Mr. Lumpkin said he thanked the gentleman from Vermont for his advice to the South, to remain easy under this infliction; but he hoped that the southern members knew their duty to their constituents, and would not be unmanning to it. *He would be as easy as he could in a negotiation with a pistol at his breast, it mounted his power.* He could not sit here very easy while the South was daily assailed, both in her honor and her interests. From individual fanatics these papers were sufficiently alarming; but when *they come from the legislature of a sovereign state, they were most dangerous and alarming.* He would not consent to print the paper for the purpose of giving publicity to its principles, and *encouraging others to assemble.* Mr. Lumpkin then moved to lay the motion to print on the table, which was agreed to, yeas 29, nays 8."

Mr. Allen, Senator from Ohio, voted with the slaveholders.

A little while subsequently, Mr. Clay presented a petition from inhabitants of the District of Columbia, remonstrating against the continuance of agitation on the subject of abolition therein, and moved that it be printed. It was printed, no man dissenting. The resolutions of a sovereign state were thus thrown contemptuously on the table, without the poor privilege of being printed, while this courtesy, by a unanimous vote, was shown to a petition from certain citizens of a petty district, whose piratical slave-traffic has made our nation infamous.

When the slave states fulminated their resolves against abolition, and called on Northern legislatures to punish their citizens for exercising their constitutional right of free discussion, their demand was taken into serious consideration, and declined, with something of that kind of respect, which is due from an inferior to a superior. Let us see how the resolutions of a free state, touching subjects connected with the national welfare, and fairly within the sphere of the powers of Congress, were treated by a slaveholding legislature. At the last session of the North Carolina legislature, resolutions of the General Assembly of Vermont, respecting slavery in the District of Columbia, &c., were laid before the House, and occasioned much excitement. One member thought, that the dignity of the

state required, that they should be regarded with "silent contempt." At length, the following grossly offensive resolutions were agreed on:

"1. *Resolved*, That the resolution from the State of Vermont, on the abolition of slavery, as transmitted to us by our Governor, is a gross insult on the rights and domestic institutions of the South.

2. *Resolved*, That it is inconsistent with the dignity and solemn duty of this Legislature to make any response to them whatever.

3. *Resolved*, That upon the subject of the abolition of slavery, we have but one opinion, and will not permit ourselves to entertain or debate it, and any effort to provoke discussion will be instantly met with the most decisive reprobation."

In the Elizabethtown (N. C.) Phœnix, there appeared, a few months ago, an address by the Hon. Mr. Shepherd, to the freemen of the fourth congressional district of North Carolina. Mr. Shepherd was elected to Congress, as he states, "uncommitted and untrammeled;" his "feelings and prejudices" however being against Martin Van Buren. Subsequently to his election in 1847, having come to the conclusion that the democratic party of the North, was identified in interest and sentiment with slave-holders, he became an adherent of the administration. In the address, Mr. Shepherd manifests great distrust of parties. He would have the South united, and his high ambition is, that it should give law to the general government. The following paragraph from his address will show, the prevailing lust of dominion among slave-holding politicians. The idea of sharing political power equally with the North, does not seem once to be admitted.

"But," says Mr. Shepherd, "we must not put too much faith in parties and politicians. I have seen enough to make me distrust those who are struggling for power and office. *We must adhere to our principles, secure ourselves from those contests, whose result is to elevate men and divide the spoils of victory. If the slave-holding States be true to themselves, they can give law to the government;* but if our public men be divided into factions, and pervert the great doctrines of the constitution to be sunk in a mess of pottage for the slaves and fishes,' our influence will be lost, and our property will be sacrificed."

But the most alarming evidence lately furnished of the iron sway of the slaveholding interest, is the celebrated speech of the Hon. Henry Clay. In the early part of his political career, this gentleman was distinguished for his noble endeavors to free Kentucky from the curse of slavery. Until lately, he had always been honored by a large portion of his fellow-countrymen, as an ardent, able and honest advocate of the rights of man. When the oppressed of other lands have been struggling to burst the chains of despotism, the voice of Henry Clay has been heard, cheering them on to triumph and enlisting the world's sympathies in their behalf. Even

the anti-slavery men of the free states confided to a certain extent in his professions, and believed him not altogether divorced from generous sentiments on the great question of human rights.

But, Mr. Clay becomes an aspirant for the highest seat in the nation; and no important office in this country can now be bestowed, without the consent of the slaveholding interest. To this power, Mr. Clay's course in regard to the slavery-question, up to the last session of Congress had given offence. Throughout the South, his past efforts in behalf of Emancipation were remembered to his detriment, and it was to no purpose that his friends lightly ascribed them to a "boyhood passion." Still, he was distrusted. His respect for the right of petition, *in form*, and the moderate tone in which he had spoken of Abolitionists, created a sentiment among slaveholders, so adverse to his prospects, that it was manifest he could expect no effective support from the slaveholding states. Sometime last year, the Mobile Com. Register thus announced the demand of the South.

"It is too late in the day, as we have plainly, but hypocritical regrets, that one is obliged to say that Mr. Van Buren is an abolitionist. The South have heard and judged him on this subject, and his seat in the Presidential Chair is *the evidence of the confidence the Southern people repose in him.*"

"We would do by Mr. Clay as the South have done by Mr. Van Buren—leave him not an inch of neutral ground to stand upon, between the South and the Fanatics. *He must put down the flag Mr. Van Buren was pushed*—the Southern safety demands it. It is in vain to talk of Mr. Clay's resolutions.' That is one step—the first step. *He must produce the whole length*, and walk altogether off the middle neutral ground, which he occupies, *or the South will spurn and reject him.*"

Subsequently to this, the editors of the Louisville Journal, good authority in what relates to Mr. Clay, deemed it advisable to go into an explanation of the stand taken by this gentlemen at one period of his life, in favor of emancipation in Kentucky. Two extracts from the article will suffice to show its policy.

"Mr. Clay believing that in Kentucky was her then small proportion of slaves, a gradual emancipation might be safely adopted, and ardent, as he ever has been and still is in the cause of human liberty, espoused the cause of general emancipation. But we are not mistaken in our knowledge of his character when we assert, that, even at that day of youthful ardor, he would have been utterly opposed to abolition, as understood at this day. Slavery and freedom are scarcely more distinct than abolition and gradual emancipation.

* * * * * * * *

Indeed we believe, that, even as to gradual emancipation his opinion was subject to modification and condition. Where the proportion was so small in any State (as in Kentucky) that there was no danger in any event, of the African race acquiring the ascendency, he would probably, as a citizen of that State, have been in favor of gradual emancipation, but, if there were any ground, to

apprehend that the blacks, from their number, might in any State become uppermost, we have no doubt, from his declarations, that he would in such State, *have been opposed alike to gradual preparation and to abolition.*

But, the Senator himself was to be heard. And accordingly, late in the last session of Congress he delivered that celebrated speech, in which he makes it manifest to the whole world, that he has at length done what the slave holding interest required,—"measured the whole length; walked altogether off the middle, neutral ground," which the South supposed he had previously occupied.

Such is the power of slavery. Holding all important offices at its disposal, it rejects Thomas Morris for his sturdy independence, and tames the free spirit of Henry Clay. It dictates to a free state the choice of her Senators, and to the people of the United States, the man for their president. And yet, resistance on our part, is fanaticism.

But, the worst examples of slave holding aggression, remain to be noticed. On the soil of the free state of Ohio, this power has achieved its most odious triumphs.

From the proximity of the border free states to slavery, the slave holder is necessarily subject to what he considers great loss and vexation. The line between freedom and slavery is too narrow, the prospect of eluding the vigilance of his master too encouraging, to allow the supposition, that the slave will always be content to wear the chain. From the time of the first settlement of the states bordering the Ohio, the escape of slaves has been a frequent subject of complaint on one side, and of preventive legislation on the other.—Owing, however, to the very nature of the institutions of the free states, the principles of their constitutions, and the modes of thought prevalent among their people, it has always been found difficult, if not impossible, to devise any legislation which would satisfy the slaveholder. And it must be obvious to every thinking person, that nothing can secure him in the enjoyment of his spurious slave-property, but the establishment of slavery from the Ohio to the lakes. It is visionary to suppose, that any legislation, short of this, can prevent the continual escape of discontented slaves. If any thing less could have met the demands of the slave-holding power, no fault would have been found with the policy of Ohio. Her policy has been in open subservience to the interests of slavery. More regard has been paid to the dictation of the slave-states, than the declarations of her own constitution. In addition to the toleration of

the Law of Congress, which deprives her coloured population of the right of jury-trial, in cases where their personal liberty is in the greatest peril, her statutes have been so framed as to bar their clearness, and subject them to irremediable wrong at the hand of the white man. And the only special protection extended to them is, that should any person carry out of the state any other person, as a fugitive from labor, without having established his claim before some magistrate, and procured a certificate as prescribed by law, such person shall on conviction be liable to imprisonment in the penitentiary for the term of 7 years. It may be well to remark, that nearly all the provisions of our pro-slavery statutes have been fulfilled to the very letter; while those designed for the protection of our own people against kidnapping, have been found almost uniformly ineffective.

But law has not been the sole safeguard of the slave-holder. In the prejudice or terror of a certain class of our citizens, he has found a still more potent auxiliary. For years past, there have been many among us base enough, to hire themselves out, as the blood-hounds of the slave-hunter; and there is but too much reason to believe, that officers of justice have at times been bribed to engage in the detestable business of slave-catching.

A few years ago, an attempt was made by a band of slaveholders, in concert with certain citizens of Cincinnati, to kidnap a free coloured man, by the name of —— ——. They surrounded his house by night, broke it open, violently seized him, and would have borne him off at once, had it not been for his vigorous resistance. With so much success however did he defend himself, that one of the kidnappers, finding they were about to be discovered, drew his knife, and swore that he would have his blood or drive it into his bowels. But, by this time, the [illegible] had been given, and the murderers fled, leaving [illegible] to be bled. Medical assistance was procured, and he was restored to health. An indictment was found against the [illegible] for this horrible transaction; but it was quashed by the [illegible] and no trial was had. Not [illegible] were [illegible] kidnapped [illegible] Some of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

We all remember the case of Eliza J. Johnson, a free colored woman, who was kidnapped by citizens of Kentucky, carried over into that state, and, after the person on whose claim she was stolen, had admitted that she was *not* his slave, was cast into prison, there to remain, until called for by some master, if within a certain period—if not called for, then to be sold as a slave, to pay her jail fees:—a case, from beginning to end, of base, unmitigated, rank injustice. A bill was found against the kidnappers; they were tried before an Ohio court; but the jury refused to convict them, though the evidence, it is well understood, was conclusive against them.

Sometime last fall, a colored man, named Alexander Johnson, whose family consisting of a wife and several children, now resides in Cincinnati, and who was well known to many of the citizens, having resided there for nearly seven years, was enticed on board a steam-boat at the wharf, and immediately carried over the river to Kentucky, whence he was sent below to perpetual slavery. Immediate measures were taken to recover the poor man, but they were unsuccessful; and it was found impossible to bring the vile perpetrators of the deed to justice, for the seizure, it was alleged, was made within the Kentucky line of jurisdiction.

A citizen of Jackson county, of established character, but whose name we are not at liberty to mention, in the 15th No. of the Philanthropist, gives a heart-sickening picture of slave-catching, as practised in that region. One of the cases he details is as follows: A large reward was offered for two fugitive slaves. This roused the malignant avarice of certain [illegible] follows, who immediately turned out in pursuit. Soon, they overtook *three* colored persons, two of whom they *supposed* to be the runaways, and, without the shadow of legal process, greedy for the reward, they hurried them *all* out of the state, to be consigned to endless slavery.

The insolence and violence with which the slave hunter is accustomed to treat those citizens of Ohio, whom he has ground to suspect of hostility to his designs, would excite astonishment, were we not but too familiar with the true spirit of slavery. The report of a meeting of citizens of Sardinia, Brown co., held last December, an account of which was published not long after in the Philanthropist, sets forth, that for some time previous, their neighborhood had been greatly infested with negro-hunters; that the persons of their fellow-citizens had been abused, their lives jeopardied, their premises

intruded on, their houses broken up, by men in search of slaves; and that a price had been set on the head of one of their number, by certain slaveholders in Kentucky.

Enough has been said to show, that not only had the slaveholding power procured the enactment of divers laws in its behalf, but that it had found lawless instruments in our own territory, to fulfil its most sinister designs.

Still slaveholders were not sated. Incensed by the loss of their slaves, they affected to believe that citizens of Ohio were in the habit of enticing them to abscond; and at length they determined to try the hazardous experiment, whether a citizen of Ohio could not be tried before a slaveholding tribunal and punished by slaveholding laws, for acts done within the limits of his own state. The Rev. John B. Mahan, a worthy citizen, and a minister in the Methodist Episcopal church, was selected as the subject of this experiment. Two indictments were found against him by a grand jury of Kentucky, for aiding in the escape of certain slaves, and forwarded to the Governor of that state, who instantly made a demand for the person of Mr. Mahan, as a fugitive from justice, which was promptly complied with by our Executive, without examination, and with most unwarrantable precipitancy. Mr. Mahan was arrested, despite the writs of habeas corpus, hurried on board a steamboat, and conveyed down the Ohio river, and lodged in prison, at Louisville, to abide his trial for crime on the Circuit Court of Mason county. The testimony against him was found among the citizens of Ohio, and this testimony was sworn to by a trader who had been detected in the basest and most abandoned character, and who, when cross-examined, admitted that he had practised upon Mahan a system of gross deception. The ground assumed by the prosecution was, that the constitution of Kentucky extended to acts done in another state, if the effects resulted in Kentucky. But so monstrous was this position, that even a slaveholding tribunal did not venture to sustain it, and the prisoner was discharged by the decision of the court. Mr. Mahan was honored, on coming to trial, with the presence and professional services of the two individuals whose petty bickerings with the Governor of Kentucky had given occasion for the finding of false indictments. The suit is now pending. Let it be remembered then, that the slaveholding power is still striving to establish the principle, that a citizen of Ohio, shall be liable for damages

gers under Kentucky laws, for acts done in Ohio, and which are innocent by the laws of his own state.

We pause here, that we may dwell on a humiliating contrast. While the free states rarely permit the grossest violations of the rights of their citizens, the slave states are assiduous in hedging themselves about with additional safe-guards. Slaveholders are as careful of their own rights, as they are reckless of the rights of others. The Executive of Ohio, conceives it to be his duty, on the mere demand of the governor of another state, to deliver up without demur, delay or examination, any one of his fellow-citizens who may be claimed as a fugitive from justice. The legislature of Kentucky has taken care to preserve the people of that state from falling victims to such egregious folly. By a statute passed 1815, it provided that the delivery of a person, claimed as a fugitive from justice should not take place, until such person was properly identified before a circuit Judge, to whom the warrant of apprehension, issued to the sheriff, should be returned. A statute of date 1820, provided in addition that, whenever a citizen of Kentucky, indicted in Ohio for removing an alleged slave from its territory, without proof of property before a legal tribunal, was demanded by the Governor of Ohio, such citizen should be brought before a circuit judge, in his own state, and in addition to his right to introduce proof that he was not the person demanded, should have the further right of proving himself the owner of the slave:—in which case, the judge was bound to discharge him, and the Executive to refuse the demand. In other words, the legislature of Kentucky has enacted that there is one of the laws of Ohio which may be transgressed, and yet the transgressor, if a resident of Kentucky, shall not be surrendered, as a fugitive from justice.

But, if there had been no laws on this subject, slaveholders would never have tolerated for one moment, what the people of Ohio have habituated themselves to bear with most exemplary patience. Mr. Wade in his speech on the Servile Bill, in the last General Assembly, narrates a case, which illustrates at once the ruthless contempt with which slaveholders trample on the rights of others, and the extreme jealousy with which they cherish their own. The record of it he obtained from the archives of the executive office. Some years since, when Governor Morrow filled the gubernatorial chair, there resided in Union township, Butler co., in this state, a free colored woman, with her two children, Eliza and Mary. On the

night of the 29th of November, 1825, one William Daniels of Boon county, Kentucky, and five others, armed with clubs, dirks and pistols, surrounded the house of this defenceless female, and carried her and her children off to slavery, in which they remain to this day. In due time, an indictment was found against the kidnappers, a demand made in the prescribed form for their surrender, and an agent sent by our Governor to receive them. The Executive of Kentucky returned an evasive answer, and the agent of Ohio, invested with all the dignity of the State, *was mobbed out* of Kentucky, narrowly escaping with his life. Four subsequent efforts were made by Governor Morrow to bring the criminals to justice, but all without success. Kentucky would not tolerate it.

No sooner was the result of the Mahan trial known, than a series of efforts was set on foot, designed to prepare the people of Ohio for new concessions.

First, an account of the trial of Mahan is published in the Maysville Eagle, accompanied with comments very flattering to Kentucky justice, and an appeal to the people of Ohio, calling upon them, to provide additional securities for the protection of slavery; because a Kentucky Judge had been so righteous, as not to hold a citizen of Ohio amenable to his jurisdiction.

Next, this article is republished in several of the papers of our State; the comments of the Eagle are endorsed; Kentucky justice is again magnified; and the appeal meets a warm response. Grateful to our sister State, for not imposing her laws on the citizens of Ohio, our editors concur with the Eagle, that it is nothing more than fair, that the legislature should do something to meet the wishes of slave-holders. One even goes so far as to recommend, that a part of the slave code be incorporated with our own laws. He would make the act of aiding a run-away-slave in Ohio, a penitentiary offence, subjecting the offender to two or twenty years confinement.

Soon, Gov. Clark issues his message, clothed in our threatenings and slaughter," and rank with false charges against a large and respectable portion of the citizens of this State. Picking up newspaper reports, as groundless as they are malignant, he arraigns Abolitionists before the public, as base plotters against the peace and rights of Kentucky, flagrant violators of her laws, overleaping the limits of free discussion, to mingle personally with the slaves in the fields, for the purpose of persuading them to strike for liberty. All

this is designed to reach the legislature of this State, so as to inflame their hatred against Abolitionists, awaken concern for the honor of Ohio, and impel them to the adoption of a severe pro-slavery policy.

About the same time, the Frankfort Commonwealth utters its voice. The machinations of Abolitionists, their lawless acts, their gross invasions of the rights of slave-holders, are the burthen of its lamentation. It addresses itself more directly to our legislature, not in the language of entreaty, but of menace. Hear it: "*She* (Kentucky) *will not idly menace*. THE ANGER OF KENTUCKY IS WAXING WARM."

The legislature of our sister State begins to move. A resolution passes the Senate, for the appointment of two commissioners to proceed to Columbus, and urge upon the legislature the propriety of passing some law to restrain our citizens, from interfering with the relation of master and slave in Kentucky. The Maysville Monitor, thinks that Ohio owes this to her character. The Ohio Statesman cancels, and talks of the "robbery, plunder and felonious interference" of Abolitionists, (for Abolitionists, the editor means, though afraid to speak out like a man.) And on the back of all, the Cincinnati Gazette writes, "*well*." The editor compliments the "good sense" of the Statesman, approves of the "move of Kentucky," would "make large concessions," and talks of making an experiment "of laws of exact and hard justice."

Slave-state papers at the same time assume to instruct our legislature, as to the kind of legislation required by Kentucky. The Louisville City Gazette, speaking of the way in which aid to escaping slaves might be forbidden in Ohio, said,—

"This might be done by the enaction of laws, imposing adequate penalties for aiding or assisting in removing any slave from Kentucky, or for harboring any person of color within either state unless [illegible] *evidence of slavery*, and by authorizing prosecutions by [illegible] indictment. It might conduce to this end to allow the owner to recover [illegible] *any slave thus abducted, aided, abetted, or assisted*. We think this paper adapted to the end, than to denounce hanging and death against villainies who never would be caught."

The same paper carefully watched the proceedings of our legislature, respecting which it used the following language.

"We confess," says the Louisville City Gazette, "we are not very sanguine. It will be an arduous business; yet as we deem it the *duty of Ohio to grant what this State requests upon the subject*, it is difficult for us to arrive to the conclusion that party politics, or a mistaken zeal for the Blacks, can prevail over the dictates of unity and good faith."

Again:—

"We agree with the Cincinnati Gazette, that the Commissioners have a *delicate* duty to perform. They have to contend with *long cherished and rooted habits of thought and of action*. Not to them can be rendered the less difficult by the potent power of parties in the State. Each party will be exceedingly cautious how they act and how the principles of the case may be answered. We shall hear speedily from Columbus, and shall be careful to keep our readers advised of what may occur."

To show how fully he is the slaveholder on carrying his point, we quote another paragraph from the same paper, in which allusion is made to Flood's anti-abolition resolutions.

"If the members do not think that this *expression of opinion* is all that *Kentucky can claim*, and are not satisfied with *their own liberality and liberal conduct* in having gone thus far, but are willing to *go* the whole hog as well as the shoulder, we would suggest to them of the House of Representatives as propitious to our wishes. As Mr. Rhett says, *one cannot*——"

"Is it possible," said a slaveholding member of the United States' Senate, when he heard of the demands of Kentucky on Ohio,—"is it possible that Ohio can submit to such dictation?" The slaveholder himself cannot but be amazed at the depth of that servility which yields to his dictates.

It might be proper here to speak of the resolutions of Mr. Flood, but their character is such as renders them unworthy of a particular notice. It is enough to know, that they were especially in substance the same as the Abercrombie resolutions, and that the movement by which they were carried, was in the instance and under the control of slaveholding influence. One resolution, however, was passed, so particularly detestable in character, that it deserves to be placed on record.

After the passage of Flood's resolutions, Mr. Hamilton moved the following.

"*Resolved*, That every citizen has an unalienable right to speak, write or print upon any subject, as he thinks proper, being liable for the abuse of that liberty."

Mr. Keough moved to amend, by striking out all after the word "*Resolved*," and inserting the following:

"That the Black and Mulatto persons who now reside within this State, have no constitutional right to present their petitions to the General Assembly for any purpose whatsoever, and that any reception of such petitions on the part of the General Assembly is a mere act of favour or grace, and not required by the express or implied power of the Constitution."

Mr. Hamilton's words were stricken out, *yeas* 38, *nays* 27. Mr. Keough's substitute was adopted, *yeas* 47, *nays* 22.

Meantime, the Kentucky Commissioners were appointed, and passed through Cincinnati on their way to Columbus.

The servile press welcomed their arrival, and glorified their mission. The *torpid* press announced their coming, but expressed no feeling as to the objects for which they had been sent. The free press, a few papers, spoke out in tones of manly indignation. The voice of the people of Ohio was not heard: no pains were taken to ascertain their sentiment.

The Commissioners reach Columbus; the Legislature is moved; it is eager to do them honor, and opens a willing ear to their communications. Committees are appointed, in both houses, to wait upon them. The privilege is accorded to them of communicating orally, or by letter. They prefer complaints, without proof; the legislature asks for none. They basely calumniate the character of citizens of Ohio; our representatives are willing listeners. They dictate coolly, and at length, to the legislature, what laws they wish passed, and for what purpose; they define them clearly; they do not petition—they demand, and our representatives meekly acquiesce. True, they have nothing to communicate about the kidnapping of their citizens by "evil-disposed persons in Ohio;" of the incarceration of their citizens in the jails of Ohio; of the trial of their citizens before the tribunals of Ohio for acts done in Kentucky; of rewards offered for their citizens by villains in Ohio; of the abuse of their citizens, and breaking open their houses by marauders from Ohio. No; their demand is a very modest one;—it is only that Ohio should enact laws to strengthen the grasp of Kentucky masters on men, whom they have robbed of their liberty;—it is only that Ohio should be the patient, well-drilled, well-skilled, indefatigable, sleepless, unscrupulous slave-catcher of Kentucky.—The demand is assented to: no generous emotion of indignation kindles in the bosom of that heartless assembly. This is a demand they dare not resist—and would not, if they dared. It is the *slave holder* who speaks,—his voice has authority. It is *slavery* that is in peril,—its interests must be secured.

Just at this juncture appears the unfortunate Madian,—the man who, through the instrumentality of perjury, had been incarcerated in one of the jails of Kentucky, and tried by one of her tribunals, for acts, which his accusers did not even pretend were done *out* of Ohio. His defence cost him and his friends twelve or fifteen hundred dollars. His time had been wasted, and, for months, he was compelled to bear the disgrace and pain of imprisonment, ironed like a felon. He presents his memorial to the legislature, setting forth his grie-

ances, and humbly asking for some little compensation. His presence is hardly noticed; few ears are turned to listen to the story of his wrongs; his prayer is carelessly referred to one of the standing committees, which finally reported adversely to his claim.

But, the Commissioners wait. They depart not till the bill introduced in accordance with their wishes is passed. On February 5th, it is brought forward in the house by Mr. Lowe, forced rapidly to a second reading—no time given for careful examination and discussion—all amendments designed to guard the rights of our fellow-citizens, rejected,—and on the 11th, it passes the house by a majority of 54 to 18!!!

In the Senate it met with more vigorous opposition. A few noble spirits felt the degradation to which their state was about to be reduced. The bill was referred to a committee, which reported it back with some unessential amendments. For several days its passage was contested, until the Servile, at length resolved to vote down every proposition for amendment, in sullen silence, without further discussion. On the 22nd of February, Mr. Smith of Warren made a long speech in favor of the bill, concluding at 9 o'clock in the evening. A motion was then made, to adjourn, but voted down, by a strictly party-vote; and the opponents of the bill were plainly told, that, if they had any thing further to say, they must devote the night to it, for the question was to be decided before adjournment. So abominable an act of tyranny on the part of the majority, could only have been perpetrated by men, who had basely yielded themselves up, to the service of the slave holder.

Finally, on the morning of the 23d of February, the bill was passed, the deed was done; the constitution doped! human nature outraged; the Law of God set at naught; the cup of our shame was filled to overflowing. Other states are rapidly advancing in liberal sentiment. Massachusetts and Vermont have given already abundant evidence, that the spirit of '76 is about to preside over their councils. The lower house of the N. Y. Leg. has protested against the gag resolutions of Congress, and nobly asserted the right of petition. But Ohio —her law-givers forge gags for their own use, and when Kentucky speaks, fetters for their constituents. Tears of blood cannot efface the foul blot they have fastened upon her honor. In the gaze of a civilized world, she now stands alone, eminent in infamy, with her character for humanity, freedom, and independence, blasted and blackened.

and her only reward is, the hollow praise of the slave holder, who in his heart loathes the meanness which yielded to his demands.

On the nature of this law, we have no room to dwell. It is enough to know, that it denies the right of trial by jury; converts the ministerial offices of the Ohio courts of justice into the ignominious tools of slave-holders; invites the most flagrant aggressions on personal rights by securing the aggressor against liability of punishment; tends to place the people of Ohio in the position of open supporters of the practice of slave holding; is an outrage on the Constitution of the State; an inhuman attempt to strangle the most generous sympathies of the human heart, and a bold, blasphemous violation of the law God.

We have thus faintly sketched the steadily progressive arrogance and encroachments of the slave-holding power, for the last twelve months; for our illustrations, numerous as they are, are confined chiefly to this period. We have done so, not only because it was desirable to quicken the zeal, and infuse new energy into the efforts of abolitionists, but because it was important to show what an imperious obligation rests upon the people of the free states, to fill their legislatures and the Congress of the Union with men, who will unite in a fixed resolution, to resist upon every point any further exaction of the spirit of slavery, and to carry out to the fullest extent warranted by the federal constitution, those principles of liberty and equality on which the republic is professedly based.

LETTER FROM JAMES A. THOME.

Oberlin, May 23d, 1839.

My Dear Friend:—

It would have afforded me great pleasure, could I have complied with your solicitations to attend the approaching anniversary of the State Anti-Slavery Society; but it seems to be out of my power.—I assure you I have felt very strong promptings, aside from your urgent invitations, to be present on this occasion. There will be brought together many from various parts of the state among whom it was my privilege to labor during the earlier and feebler conflicts

of this growing cause. I earnestly desire to look upon their well remembered faces, to grasp their hands once more and to bespeak them, "watchmen, what of the night?" There will be assembled others who are later converts to the cause—who were more tardy in giving in their adherence, but I trust are no less hearty now.—Perhaps among these I might recognize some who four years ago were the avowed opposers or at least the indifferent hearers of an unworthy laborer—and I am sure it would afford peculiar gratification to see them at last on the side of mercy and human rights. I feel moreover a strong desire to embrace so favorable an opportunity of noting the progress of our cause since we assembled in the Granville Barn, surrounded with the weapons of defence and the threats of a drunken mob. That was the last Anniversary I have been permitted to attend. The three interesting years since, have doubtless given great extension to our principles in this state; for it is impossible that *such principles* so vital and commanding, identical with the foundation truths of our state and National Governments, and emanating from the word of God,—should be proclaimed without meeting a response and a welcome in some hearts in every place. When I consider the activity of your press, the multiplication of pamphlets and books, and the assiduous labors of living lecturers within the bounds of our state, I am almost ready to exclaim "what now remains to be done, but to unite in congratulations and thanksgivings!" But my impulses are checked—my emotions are chilled when I open my eyes upon present realities. Instead of exulting over the deliverance of the slave—and what else in the name of liberty and truth should we be doing at this late period, in this time of mental and spiritual illumination, in this day of the outgoings of generous sympathies over the earth, *now* when the Islands of the sea are clapping their unfettered hands—instead of exulting over the deliverance of the American slave, alas! we are constrained to mourn over the shadows and degradation of Ohio's own citizens. While we should be flocking up from the four quarters on the festival feet to commemorate the burial of the last chain and whip; O shame! we are compelled to drag our own fettered limbs to a melancholy convocation, called to consult over our own wrongs and to devise a redemption from our own oppressions. You cannot, my dear sir, but know to what I allude. The late enactments of our Legislature, in obedience to the arrogant demands of a sister state are too notorious to be for a moment overlooked. Ohio laws

have enslaved Ohio citizens. The representatives, creatures of a day, have yoked their own constituents to the car of power and party. A rod of iron has smitten the face of free Ohio. A chain has gone over hill and valley of her free soil, and that chain has been rivited to the staple of Kentucky slavery by parricidal hands. A deep broad stain of foul disgrace has spread from centre to circumference over Constitution, laws, institutions, every thing of which we had reason to be proud. A worse than vandal extermination has been ordered among the best dictates and the kindliest yearnings of our hearts. The promptings of pity and the gushings of sympathy toward the outcast wanderer, have been intimated by the array of bailiffs, lictors, and prison walls, and dungeon damps. The hand of charity stretched forth to relieve, has been palsied by law. The voice of brotherhood opening upon a stranger's ear, has been hushed by stern command. Benevolence has been made criminal, and obedience to Christ, punishable with fines and imprisonment. A sentinel has been stationed at every freeman's door to watch who goes in and who comes out. A censor has been appointed over every freeman's table and wardrobe to prescribe who shall receive a loaf of bread and who a coat. A lock has been fastened upon every freeman's well with orders to whom "the cup of cold water" shall be disposed. An arrest has been laid upon every freeman's baggage, and every vehicle Northward bound is subject to a halt and countermarch. A system of the basest espionage has been established in time of peace, among neighbors and fellow citizens, which converts every man's own household into spies and informers. All this and more has been perpetrated amongst us in 1839.

Then brethren is there nothing to do? While the enactments of the last Legislature defile our Statute book, have we nothing to do? Before God we are in our measure responsible for the continuance of the black laws. Let us not, I beseech you, be lulled into inactivity by the consideration that these laws are likely to be inoperative. What is this to us? Shall we be willing, to walk under the whip, because it may not for a time descend upon us in stripes?—Shall we consent to have manacles made in the Chambers of our Capitals, and stored up in the public vaults, and remain at ease because they are not already fitted to our wrists? No. Let us be resolved upon undoing what has been done as the only means of redeeming our state from reproach and our necks from the yoke.

With the earnest prayer that God may grant your convention

wisdom to plan successfully for the repeal of the Black Laws, and bless your consultations to the deliverance of the oppressed both in Ohio and the South, and with assurances of the warmest esteem for any personal acquaintances who may be present, I remain

Affectionately yours for the suffering slave.

JAS. A. THOME.

DR. G. BAILEY, *Cor. Sec.*

LIST OF PLEDGES MADE AT THE ANNIVERSARY AT PUTNAM, May 30, 1830.

A. Allen,	$5 00
D. Allen,	5 00
Antrim, Guernsey co.	3 00
Bellefontaine,	10 00
Burel, L. G.,	5 00 paid
Bryant, Jos.,	5 00 paid
Bushnell, Rev. H.,	25 00
Bailey, Gamaliel,	10 00
Burr, Tim.,	10 00
Birney, J. G.,	50 00
Brook, Dr. A.,	10 00
Byrd, John H.,	5 00
Brook, James B.,	5 00
Brown, J. C.,	5 00 paid
Cherokee A. S. S., Logan co.	20 00
Clinton co.	50 00
Cours, per R. Hanna,	100 00 paid
Cincinnati, per G. Bailey,	600 00
Cate, J. D.,	50 00 paid $15
Cabel, M. J.,	5 00 paid
Craig, S.,	5 00 paid
Deerfield, Morgan co.,	50 00
D. Witt, Luke,	10 00
Davis, B. F.,	5 00
Dugdale, John,	5 00 paid
Donaldson, Christian,	100 00 paid
Donaldson, Wm.,	100 00 paid
Donaldson, Thos.	100 00 paid
Dickeby, David,	00
Farr, William,	00 paid

Friends, names not given,	21 25 paid
Greenfield, Highland co.,	100 00
Granville, Licking co.,	200 00
Georgetown, Harrison co.,	70 00 paid $36
Gibbs, Elisha,	5 00
George, H.,	5 00
George, Wm.	5 00
George Alex.	5 00 paid
Guthrie, A. A.	50 00
Gormly, David,	5 00 paid
Green co., per — Purdy,	50 00
Harrisville Medina co.	50 00 paid $10
Heaton, Jas.	5 00 paid
Hunt, J.	5 00
Hanna, Robert, of Cadiz	10 00 paid
Hathaway, Pardon,	5 00
Hebardsville, per J. M. Hibben,	25 00 paid $8
Jackson co. A. S. S.	5 00 paid
Irish, Wm. B.	20 00 paid
Irish, Wm. B., for A. S. Soc.	13 00 paid
Jones, Lemuel,	10 00 paid
Jamison, John,	5 00
King, Leicester,	50 00 paid
Keene A S S, Coshocton co,	10 00
Ludlow, J C	100 00
Mt Vernon, Knox co.,	60 00
Lees Run, per R. Hammond	30 00
Moore, H. M., Newark,	10 00
McNeely, Cyrus	50 00
Moore, Milton	10 00 paid
Mariam, Cyrus	5 00 paid
Morgan co. per Geo. Morris	50 00 paid $10
Mt Pleasant, cent a week Soc.	5 00 paid
Newtown, Muskingum co.	23 00
New Athens, Harrison co.	70 00 paid $6
New Concord, Muskingum co.	50 00
New Concord, Juvenile Soc.	20 00
New Garden, Columbiana co.	30 00
Putnam, Muskingum co.	100 00
Pennsville, Morgan co.	10 00
Olear, Wm.	5 00 paid
Pettyjohn, Abraham,	5 00
Parish, F D	10 00
Peru, A S S, Delaware co.	30 00
Ross co.	175 00

Ripley, Brown co.	200	00
Robinson, E.	6	00
Robinson, Mrs.	15	00
Rodgers, Thos.	5	00 paid
Rodgers, Wm. H.	10	00
Trumbull co.	200	00
Sardinia, Brown co.	55	00
Talmadge, Portage co.	50	00
Strickland, Mark.	10	00 paid $5
Smith, S.	5	00 paid
Sturges, Edward,	25	00 paid
Smith, Thos.	5	00
Sheppard, M.,	10	00
Tracy, John M.	1	00 paid
Stone, Curtis,	5	00 paid
Simpson, Matthew,	5	00 paid
Trimble, jr., John,	1	00 paid
Strongville, Cuyahoga co.	10	00
Total am'nt. Pledged,	$3555	25

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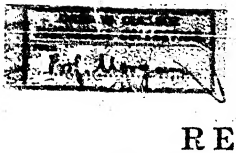

REPORT

OF THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE

OHIO STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

HELD IN

MASSILLON, STARK COUNTY, OHIO, MAY 21, 1840.

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MINUTES.

Pursuant to notice, the Society met at Massillon, on Wednesday, the 27th inst., at 10 o'clock, A. M. The President and Vice President being absent, the Rev. Samuel Crother of Highland, was called to the chair, and Robert H. Folger of Stark, Hon. John Goulding of Medina, and Eli Nichols of Belmont, appointed Secretaries.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Thomas of Butler.

On motion of Mr. Lee of Harrison, it was

Resolved, That all persons present, holding our principles and approving our measures, be allowed to participate in the deliberations of the meeting, and to vote on all questions that may arise.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Butts, of Lorain,

Resolved, That the following committees be appointed, to wit:

1st. A committee of seven to present business to the meeting. The Chair appointed Messrs Bailey of Hamilton, Sutliff of Ashtabula, Irish of Columbiana, Butts of Lorain, McGill ony of Knox, Walker of Logan, and Lee of Harrison.

2d. *Auditing Committee.*—Messrs. Osborn of Delaware, Wells of Medina and Cattell of Columbiana.

3d. Committee on *Ecclesiastical Action.*—Messrs. Blanchard of Hamilton, Sage of Stark, Thomas of Butler, Penn of Trumbull, Bushnell of Hamilton, Mahan of Lorain, Barris of Ashtabula.

4th. *On Enrollments*—Messrs. Clapp of Portage, Folger of Stark, and Blodget of Cuyahoga.

On motion of Mr. Weed of Knox, the Annual Report of the Executive Committee was presented and read by its Chairman, Dr. G. Bailey, jr., which was accepted, unanimously adopted, and ordered to be printed.

On motion of Mr. Butts of Lorain, it was

Resolved, That those portions of the annual report that relate to the Philanthropist and the employment of agents be referred to a committee of five, to report what in their judgment will be the best means of sustaining the Philanthropist and extending the present system of agencies.

The chair appointed Messrs. Morgan of Lorain, Shreve of Stark, Reese of Marion, Holliday, of Ross, and Benedict of Delaware.

Information being called for, relative to the recent doings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Dr. G. Bailey read a private letter from Lewis Tappan.

On motion of Mr. Blanchard of Hamil., a committee of six was appointed to take into consideration the propriety of calling a convention of Western abolitionists to be held in Cincinnati, and to name a time. The chair appointed Messrs. Blanchard and Bailey of Hamilton, Butts of Lorain, Donaldson of Clermont, and Barris of Ashtabula.

Portions of a late publication in the Pa. Freeman from C. C. Burleigh, being called for, was also read, reporting the doings of the late meeting of the A. A. S. S. when

On motion, the letter from Lewis Tappan, and C. C. Burleigh were referred to a select committee of ten, Messrs. Dickey, Morgan, Blodget, Morgan, Nichols, C. Donaldson, Payne, Thomas, McNeely, and Benedict were appointed said committee.

On motion, a committee of five on nominations was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Weed, Boyle, Butts, Matthews and Winans.

On motion adjourned until 2 o'clock, P. M.

Afternoon Session.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment.

Mr. Barber, agent of the Ohio Female A. S. S. reported on the condition of colored schools in Ohio.

President Mahan of Lorain, offered the following resolution and moved its adoption.

Resolved, That prejudice against color, arising from the condition of the slaves, is one of the main props of slavery, and is the great obstacle in the way of its speedy abolition.

After a most able and interesting discussion, in which the mover, Mr. Pickans of Somerset, Walker of Logan, Weed of Knox, and Guthrie of Muskingum participated, it was laid on the table.

Mr. Morgan from the committee on the letters of Messrs. Tappan and Burleigh, reported as follows—

Resolved, That it is inexpedient for this Society, in the present state of our information on the unhappy division of our eastern fellow-laborers, to take any ultimate action on the subject.

Resolved, That we deem it proper for the present to act as an independent organization.

On motion, the report was accepted. On the motion to adopt, Dr. Bailey opposed the resolutions, particularly the last, contending that the only proper way to meet the difficulty was, to amend the constitution of the State Society, by striking out that part which makes it auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society. An earnest debate arose, which lasted for some time, when a motion to re-commit, with an addition of six to the committee, prevailed. The following members were added.—Messrs. Bailey, Blanchard, Purdy, Donaldson, Guthrie, and Mahan.

Prof. Mahan's resolution was then taken up and unanimously adopted.

Mr. Blanchard, from the committee on the responsibilities and duties of the church in regard to slavery, reported as follows.

1. *Resolved*, That sla[illegible] system of false hon[illegible]ce and violence, can be o[illegible] only by the propagation of truth with consis[illegible].

2. *Resolved*, That the end of a church-organization should be, to persuade men to conform to the revealed will of God.

3. *Resolved*, That all church-organizations, refusing to teach and practice in their respective communities, the truth on the subject of slaveholding, neglect some of the plainest duties of a christian church.

4. *Resolved*, That it is the obvious duty of all ministers and teachers of religion, to explain the application of the word of God to the known practices of men—that they are specially called on to warn the people against prevailing sins, and to expound and enforce such truths and duties as are falling into neglect, according to their respective importance.

5. *Resolved*, That so far as any religious teacher fails in the discharge of these fundamental duties of his calling, he is not worthy to be regarded as a faithful minister of Christ.

6. That free state churches ought not to give to their members, removing to slave states, letters of dismission and recommendation to churches, composed in whole or in part of slaveholders.

7. *Resolved*, That Christian parents ought to use especial care to instruct their children, to regard slaveholding as grossly immoral and wicked.

8. *Resolved*, That the church ought to bear decided testimony against slaveholding, by refusing to admit to membership slaveholders or those who justify slaveholding, and by refusing to listen to those preachers who hold slaves, or withhold the truth on the subject.

9. That the churches of Ohio would promote the cause [illegible]ruth and righteousness by adopting resolutions ex[illegible]sing the above sentiments, and publishing the same [illegible]he public prints.

The report was unanimously accepted and adopted.

On motion, adjourned till 1-2 past 7 o'clock, P. M.

Half past 7 o'clock, P. M.

The announcement having been made in the afternoon that Messrs. Thomas and Mahan would address the meeting, Mr. Thomas offered the following resolution.

Resolved, That we look upon the anti-slavery movement as a new developement of the spirit of christianity, and a proof that the Bible is the grand source of civil and religious liberty. In support of which Mr. Thomas addressed the meeting at length, and was followed by Prof. Mahan.

Prof. Morgan from the committee to whom was referred the letters of Messrs. Tappan and Burleigh, reported the following resolutions.

1st. *Resolved*, That the first article of the constitution of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society be amended by striking out the last clause which reads, "and shall be auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society."

2d. That in making this amendment, we disclaim all intention of censuring the old organization, or approving the new, or expressing any opinion on the merits of the controversy between them.

The report was unanimously accepted and adopted.

On motion, adjourned until 8 o'clock Thursday morning.

Thursday Morning, 8 o'clock.

The meeting was called to order by the President. Prayer by Rev. Mr. Dickey.

Mr. Brooke of Clinton county, offered the following resolution, which was laid on the table.

Resolved, That by trafficking in, and consuming the products of the unpaid toil of the slave, we give a practical support to the system of slavery, and that it virtually justifies the crimes involved by that system.

Dr. Bailey, from the Business committee, reported a series of resolutions on political action, as follows.

1. *Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Convention, the anti-slavery cause has claims upon the citizens of the free states, in a political point of view, paramount to the claims of any of the questions which now agitate political parties.

2. *Resolved*, Therefore, that no voter ought to sacrifice the interests of this cause to the promotion of any party interest whatsoever.

3. *Resolved*, That while we view the question of slavery, regarded politically, as paramount to other political questions, we do not consider it an exclusive one; neither would we undervalue the importance of those questions.

4. *Resolved*, That the question, whether abolitionists shall make themselves felt, politically, by not casting their votes at all, where no candidate in nomination is favorable to their views, or by making a separate nomination, either of which modes of action, they, as citizens, have a perfect right to adopt, is a question of expediency, to be determined in view of circumstances which may vary with time and localities; and that this Convention therefore does not feel at liberty to recommend any general rule on the subject.

5. *Resolved*, That this Convention regards the present anti-slavery organization as primarily a *moral* one, and must therefore view with disapprobation any attempts made to convert it into a political party, acting, as in such an event it would naturally act, by the ordinary political instrumentalities.

6. *Resolved*, That the want of moral principle and of respect for human rights, evinced in the abject subserviency of the candidates for the presidency, of the two political parties, ought to be recognized by the American people as a disqualification for holding any office of influence under a government professing to be founded on free principles. Accepted and laid on the table.

Mr. Wells of Medina, from the auditing committee, reported, that, having examined the accounts of the treasurer, they were found to be correct. The report was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Walker of Logan, the Report of the Business Committee was taken up, but again laid on the table, to make room for the Report of the Committee on the Annual Report, which presented the following resolution.

Resolved, That we highly approve the course pursued by the Executive Committee of this Society during the past year for the promotion of the A.S. cause in Ohio.

Resolved, That we regard the employment of agents for the dissemination of knowledge on the subject of slavery by the sale of books, and the voice of the lecturer, as one of the most efficient means of purifying and changing public sentiment, and that we recommend to our Executive Committee to pursue with energy the measures already adopted by them upon this subject.

Resolved, That we pledge them our aid and call upon the friends of the cause throughout the State to do the same in defraying the necessary expenses, and in efforts to procure for their agents a hearing. [Report laid on the table.]

Professor Morgan from the Committee on the Philanthropist reported the following resolutions.

Resolved, That we approve of the measure of the Executive Committee in striking from the subscription list of the Philanthropist, the names of delinquent subscribers.

Resolved, That we approve of the alteration in the size and price of the paper.

Resolved, That the ability, good temper, zeal, and faithfulness with which the paper is conducted, render it

worthy of the cordial support of Abolitionists, and of all good citizens.

Accepted and adopted unanimously.

The Report of the Business Committee was taken up, and discussion upon it commenced by a speech from Dr. Bailey. After this speech the discussion was suspended, for the purpose of taking up the report of the Committee on that part of the Annual Report which relates to agencies. The report was adopted, after some animated remarks from several speakers, and the business of taking up pledges and donations attended to.

The Report of the Business Committee was again taken up, and Resolutions 1, 2, 3 and 4 adopted. The fifth resolution gave rise to an earnest debate, which occupied the time till the hour of adjournment.

Afternoon 2 o'clock.

Mr. Crothers having been obliged to return home, Gen. J. H. Paine was appointed president of the convention.

R. H. Folger from the Committee on Enrollment reported that 412 delegates had been enrolled, but that there were besides many more who had arrived, all of whose names it would be difficult to obtain. [Accepted and adopted.]

Mr. Weed from the Nominating Committee reported the following list of officers for the ensuing year.

President.

LIECESTER KING.

Vice-Presidents.

Samuel Crothers, *Highland*,
James H. Paine, *Lake*,
Robert Stewart, *Ross*,
W. H. Brisbane, *Hamilton*,
C. G. Finney, *Lorain*,
A. A. Guthrie, *Muskingum*,
Jonas Cattle, *Columbiana*,
Joseph Stevenson, *Logan*,
John Hunt, *Athens*.

Managers.

L. Rigden, *Butler*,
H. J. Curtis, *do.*
John McIntire, *Crawford*,
Jno. Anderson, *do.*
Lester Taylor, *Geauga*,
Tho. Jones *do.*
Zadoc Weeks, *Huron*,
Wm. Smith, *do.*
James Porter, *Holmes*,
Ebenezer Bigham, *do.*
M. C. Williams,
Danl. Gilman, *Preble*,
Sheldon Guthrie, *Putnam*,
Thos. James, *Carrol*,
C. H. Hayes, *do.*
G. W. St. John, *Ashtabula*,
Lucretius Bissell, *do.*
Horace Nye, *Muskingum*,
Levi Whipple, *do.*
Edwin Corner, *Morgan*,
G. Buckingham, *do.*
David Eastman, *Fayette*,
Wm. Cadwallader, *do.*
I. I. Stone, *Knox*,
John Trimble, *do.*
Arva Wales, *Stark*,
G. W. Warner, *do.*
Wm. Blackston, *Athens*,
Harvey Gilmore, *do.*
F. D. Parrish, *Erie*,
Danl. Miller, *do.*
W. W. Beebe, *Fairfield*,
J. P. Beatty, *do.*
Thos. Moore, *Carroll*,
——— Ross, ———

JAMES C. LUDLOW,
THOS. MAYLIN,
J. BLANCHARD,
W. H. BRISBANE,
R. E. PRICE,
H. BUSHNELL,
} *Executive Committee.*

Corresponding Secretary.
G. BAILEY, Jr.

Recording Secretary.
AUG. HOPKINS.

Treasurer.
W. DONALDSON.

[Report adopted.]

Committee on Convention at Cincinnati reported—That it is inexpedient at this meeting to fix the time of said convention. Therefore,

Resolved, That the subject of calling a Southern and Western Anti-Slavery Convention be referred to the Executive Committee, with discretionary power to call said convention at such time as they may judge best.

[Adopted.]

The debate on the resolutions of the Business Committee was resumed. 5th resolution adopted. The sixth was taken up and gave rise to a most excited, discursive, but friendly discussion, which was continued until the hour of adjournment.

Adjourned till half past seven.

Evening, half past 7.

Convened according to adjournment. Prayer by Professor Morgan. Address by Mr. Blanchard.

Debate resumed on the sixth resolution of the Business Committee. A motion made to adjourn was lost. A motion to strike out all after the word *resolved*, was lost. The debate was continued on the following substitute proposed by the Rev. Mr. Clark, and the question finally settled by the adoption of the substitute, by a decided vote.

Resolved, That subserviency to slavery ought to be a disqualification for any office of influence in the gift of a free people.

On motion it was

Resolved, That Dr. Bailey be requested to write out his speech on political action, and publish it in the Philanthropist.

The following three resolutions were moved by Mr. Thomas, and unanimously adopted,

Resolved, That in view of the many favorable circumstances which have rendered our meetings agreeable; of the friendly and brotherly feelings which have been manifested in our discussions; of the unanimous decisions to which we have come, on several delicate and important subjects; and especially of the general success and rapid progress of the anti-slavery cause, in our state, during the past year; this Society feels called upon to express its devout gratitude to God, for the many blessings which we believe he has granted us.

Resolved, That this Society renders its sincere and heartfelt thanks to the minister, and trustees, and congregation, that worship in this place, for their kindness in granting us the use of their church during the present meetings.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the citizens of Massillon and vicinity for the hospitalities they have experienced on the present occasion.

After prayer by the Rev. Mr. Avery, the Convention adjourned sine die.

JAS. H. PAINE, *Pres't.*

R. H. FOLGER,
J. COMING,
ELI NICHOLS,
} *Secret'rs.*

FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT,

Of the Executive Committee of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society for 1839-'40.

Soon after the last Anniversary, the Executive Committee, taking a deliberate view of the history of the anti-slavery cause in Ohio, became deeply convinced of the necessity of devising a more efficient plan of operations, than had yet been adopted. They saw, that from the date of the organization of the state-society, nothing had been done on a scale commensurate with the wants of the state. Every thing was left at looze ends. Nearly all of our most efficient men had been withdrawn from the West. The Parent society was at liberty to occupy the whole field or any part of it, but did little to abolitionize the state, except in the first year of the existence of the state society. There being a divided responsibility, our committee did not sufficiently realize the importance of systematic and permanent action. Too much confidence was reposed in temporary and local agencies, and in the irregular circulation of anti-slavery publications. A vague hope was indulged, that so obviously true were our principles, but a single impulse was needed to secure for them a speedy triumph.

The iniquitous action of the General Assembly of 1838-39 showed how fallacious was this hope. It showed, that, notwithstanding the formation of three hundred anti-slavery societies in our state, the legislative power had become more than ever subservient to slavery, and that the work of abolition must be prosecuted with far more vigorous otherwise, so far from delivering the slave, we ourselves should be compelled to pass under the yoke.

The committee accordingly determined to take the state under their own superintendence, and go to the extreme limit of their ability in supplying it with anti-slavery lecturers.

Rev. L. D. Butts was commissioned as general agent, and his services as such have been invaluable. The Rev. James Boyle was engaged as a lecturer, and travelling book-agent. It was thought that places could thus be supplied with anti-slavery reading that could not obtain it otherwise; and the publications would serve to re-produce in the form of permanent results, the impressions made by the lecturer.—The plan has worked admirably. A more successful one could not have been adopted. Every where the friends speak in the highest terms of its efficiency. Since last August, beside continually lecturing or debating, Mr. Boyle has disposed of nearly $1000 worth of our publications, and the demand, so far from being satisfied, has been constantly increasing. Mr. Asa Smith has also been successfully employed in the same way. The eagerness of the people to obtain books and pamphlets is represented as almost incredible.

Arrangements were made last fall for the transfer, of all the agents about to be employed in this state by the American anti-slavery society, to our committee. The committee from that period resolved to undertake independently the conduct of the cause in Ohio. Several other agents were then, and subsequently, commissioned. Within the year they have had twelve agents in their employ, one a lecturer and travelling book-agent, as noted above; one, a travelling book and financial agent; the rest, lecturers. The aggregate times of their services have amounted to 4 years and 6 months; and the sum total of their salaries and travelling expenses has perhaps exceeded $3000.* 30 counties at least have been visited, and some of them pretty thoroughly indoctrinated. The labors of our agents have been great, in some instances, extraordinary. All their letters bear testimony to the deep and increasing interest of the people in the great question. Large audiences have generally congregated; debates, prolonged and animated have been frequent; and the spirit of free, bold inquiry has prevailed more than at any former period. There have been occasional

* Note.—So we read it to the Convention; but it was a mistake. Two friends spoke to us afterwards about it, and said very truly that $700 a year for a lecturer, which it would seem from the data stated, we had given, was too much for an agent. We assured them that $600 was the highest salary given, to any one, and that the usual salary was eight dollars a week, that there must be a mistake somewhere—and that we would look at our books when we returned home. On examining our books we found, that we should have stated it thus—and exceeded *two* thousand dollars. This is strictly the fact. Their united salaries amounted for four years and a half, to between *twenty-one and twenty-two hundred dollars*. We have commenced the year with three agents; our purpose is to increase the number to *six*.—As a general rule, $400 is the salary we have resolved to give this year, beside travelling expenses. It is proper to say, that the travelling expenses of our agents have generally been quite light. These facts we deem it proper to state, to satisfy the minds of our hard-working friends, in these hard times.

demonstrations of violence, but on the whole, our lecturers have had to rejoice in the increasing regard of the people for the right of free discussion. Many new societies have been formed, and old ones have been quickened.—Libraries and depositories have been established in various places, constituting permanent centres of light and influence to surrounding neighborhoods.

The plan adopted by the committee for securing support to the lecturers has been quite successful. Different counties have pledged certain sums on condition of receiving an equivalent in the services of lecturers. Others, not demanding an equivalent, have consented that a part of the money raised by them should be appropriated to the support of agents, while laboring in counties, where the cause was yet in its infancy. The liberality and zeal on the part of many of our friends, which have enabled us to maintain such a system of operations, at a period when a hot political warfare and almost unexampled pecuniary distress are conspiring to contract the hearts and purses of men, show power of principle among Ohio abolitionists which is destined to survive the shock of parties and triumph over all obstacles.

Beside our regular agents, several devoted men, with a generosity worthy of all praise, have given their services gratuitously to the cause of the slave. It is to be regretted that they have not furnished accounts of their labors.

It is the intention of the committee to continue and enlarge their present plan of operations, if they can be assured of the support of the society. The faithful co-operation of every part of our organization is all that is now necessary thoroughly and rapidly to abolitionize Ohio.

The committee are sorry to say, that they have found the utmost difficulty in continuing the publication of the Philanthropist. The weekly receipts during the year have almost constantly fallen short of the expenditures.—The treasurer has been compelled to make advances from his own private resources, and the editor and printer to advance their services to a considerable extent during the year. Our embarrassments have arisen not from a falling off in the subscription list, but from the want of punctuality among subscribers. If but four fifths of these had paid with fidelity, the paper could have been sustained with ease. Two months since, the committee, concluding to do a safe business or none, determined to adopt, and carry into rigid execution the plan of cash payments. The rule is now, that no subscription shall be received, unless accompanied by payment in advance; and that all those who shall not have paid up arrearages by the first day of July next, shall be struck off from our list. The transition from the old to the new method will of course be attended with inconveniences. There will be many discontinuances, as there have been already, but we believe that there are abolitionists enough in Ohio, too devoted to the cause of human rights, to permit the organ of their state society to sink, under the very effort made to establish it upon a permanent basis. The size of it has been a little reduced, for this, among other reasons, that it may be afforded at two dollars a year. It is now one of the cheapest anti-slavery papers in the Union: and the cheapest weekly of any sort, it is believed, in the West. With 3000 subscribers paying in advance, it would pay for itself, including the editing, and leave a balance for the use of the society. The list of subscribers is now about 3000. Under the new arrangement, it is calculated, that there will be at least six hundred discontinuances, embracing of course those cut off on account of failing to pay up arrearages. The society will perceive at once the necessity of immediate action. Decisive measures ought to be taken to supply the place of these six hundred, by an addition of six hundred paying subscribers. If this increase were solicited, only as an expedient to deliver from present embarrassments, there might be some excuse for a lukewarm response. But, when it is clearly seen that by such an increase, the paper would be placed permanently in easy circumstances, and so far from costing the society any thing hereafter, in the shape of extra aid, it would in fact nett the society no small sum, certainly the Committee feel assured that this appeal will be promptly and fully responded to.

The Philanthropist is now adopted as the organ of the Illinois, and Indiana State societies. Its usefulness is generally acknowledged.—That the abolitionists of the West must have an organ—that they ought to maintain at least one paper, devoted to the interests of the anti-slavery cause, no one will deny; and that the Philanthropist, from the fact that it has occupied the

ground, has secured a large subscription list, and has an established character among abolitionists, ought to be this organ, will also be admitted. All then that is necessary, is, for the society at the present meeting to make a little extra effort in behalf of its paper. How this may best be attempted, the meeting will decide.

Two things are specially necessary to the steady advancement of our enterprise. They are, the free circulation of anti-slavery periodicals, and a regular system of proselytism or aggression. All moral excitements must have food and exercise. If you withdraw their appropriate stimuli, or divorce them from correspondent action, they will die away, leaving nothing but a corpse-like *sentiment*. If you cease to think, or which is the same thing, to read upon any subject, you will cease to feel; or if you quit acting, you will cease to feel. Not long since an abolitionist requested his paper discontinued, because, said he, "I am now thoroughly anti-slavery!" You would not think that Democrat or Whig a very efficient party man, who should discontinue his party-paper, right in the very midst of the political conflict, on the ground that he was strong enough in his faith. He would be accounted a strange professor, who should sell his Bible, because he was so entirely christianized, that he could do without it.

Why should an abolitionist make it a principal duty to support anti-slavery papers? Because they are necessary to the reformation of the public mind; because, without them, the importance of anti-slavery truth will fade away in his own mind, and the fires of liberty burn low in his own heart; and because, without them, he cannot know how to move in harmony with the great abolition host against slavery. For the sake of reforming others, for the sake of his own integrity, and that he may be enabled to make his efforts against slavery efficient, by uniting them with those of others, he is bound, to support anti-slavery papers. He ceases to take an abolition paper, because he is an abolitionist; will another take it because he is an anti-abolitionist? Can abolitionism be carried forward without the aid of the press? And will the abolitionist, who knows that unless it be sustained, the public mind can not be reformed, and that without his support, it cannot be sustained, coolly withdraw his subscription because he is anti-slavery enough already?

But, he must take it for his own sake as well as that of others. Congress may strike down constitutional rights; slaveholders may commit fresh outrages on the rights of the free states; lynch-law may invent new modes of violence on our fellow-citizens;—but the man who never reads an anti-slavery paper knows nothing, and cares nothing for these things. Indignation, and shame, and sympathy, and abhorrence, and patriotism, and a sense of duty, and the instinct of self-preservation,—these are the forces which are incessantly brought to bear upon the mind of a reading abolitionist, impelling him to efficient action. The abolitionist who never reads,—at what should he feel indignant? With whom should he sympathize? What is there to awaken his shame, or abhorrence, or sense of duty, or selfishness? Besides—how is he to guard against the wiles of slavery, or unite with others in wise, and concerted movements against it?

Next in importance to the free circulation of abolition periodicals, is the establishment of a regular system of proselytism. Some seem to imagine, that when they have become abolitionists, it is enough—their work is ended. A most pernicious mistake! What is the fig-tree worth, if it produce no fruit? There is a blight upon it, and it but cumbers the ground. The moment a convert is made to abolition, he should begin to work; the moment a society is formed, it should strike out a system of action. A principle, not acted on, will as certainly waste away as an arm unused. Every abolitionist should be a propagandist; the object of every society should be to imbue the community in which it is formed with right sentiments. For this purpose, regular or quarterly meetings should be appointed; monthly concerts of prayer for the oppressed established; and a subscription paper should be statedly circulated to raise money, for the support of lecturers, and the purchase of anti-slavery publications, with a view to loaning them, or gratuitously distributing them in the community. In this way alone can an anti-slavery society live. It must die, and it ought to die, if it will do nothing.

A year ago, a fearful apathy was settling down upon the minds of the Abolitionists of Ohio. Various anti-slavery societies had a name to live, while they were dead. (Indeed, to a limited extent, this is the case now.) The

reasons were obvious. Persecution having died away, the reaction occasioned by it subsided. The first impulses of the cause had ceased to act. Nothing but reading, and thereby gaining a view of the enterprise on a great scale, and nothing but systematic aggression, could supply the place of early enthusiasm, and the excitement engendered by persecution. It was owing to a want of the two things we have noticed, that so many societies fell into a languishing condition. About a year since, while receiving returns from anti-slavery societies, we were struck with the vast disproportion between the numbers in membership, and the number of abolition papers circulated among them. In a society, for example, of 132 members, only 3 Philanthropists were taken. The likelihood is, that more than 100 of these abolitionists were in the habit of never reading any anti-slavery paper. In another of 139 members, but one Philanthropist was taken. In nine societies, numbering 810 members, the whole number of Philanthropists amounted to but 16; and scarcely any other abolition periodicals were subscribed for. We put it to the good sense of this meeting—how can abolition be maintained in such societies? By the labor of our lecturers in most parts of the state, abolitionists have been again awakened. There is an abolition revival among us. But impulse cannot supply the place of principle. Lectures are listened to, and will be forgotten, unless their impressions be perpetuated by the reading of anti-slavery publications. And extraordinary meetings will in the end prove fruitless, unless followed up by a steady, well-directed plan of proselytism.

In this connection it should be said, that these agencies are but preliminary. The great object is, to reform public sentiment. But what then? A reformed public sentiment is itself a preliminary—a preliminary to public action through the ballot-box.

The subject of political action in regard to slavery is now an engrossing theme with abolitionists. In the infancy of our enterprise, it attracted little attention. And yet, the political responsibilities of the free states then, in relation to slavery, were as weighty as they are now. But we were too feeble to accomplish any thing through the ballot-box, and our energies were wisely directed into channels where they would prove more productive. As we became numerous, the practicability of operating in a political way, imposed on us a corresponding duty. At first our attempts were very limited, having respect to our ability. It was resolved that it was a matter of deep regret, that the citizens of the free states should aid in the election of men to office, who would trample under foot the great principles of civil liberty. A simple resolution of this tenor, and nothing more, constituted all that the New York State Anti-Slavery Society attempted on the subject at its anniversary four years ago. A little subsequently to this, the plan of questioning candidates began to be agitated, and was practiced in a few places. The requirements of Abolitionists gradually multiplied. Now, they demanded that candidates should express themselves in favor of the right of petition; next, that they should avow their opinions on the constitutional right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; then concerning the duty of this body to abolish it; then, in regard to the power of Congress over the domestic slave-trade; and at length, on all the topics, respecting which it is now the custom in some places to question them. It was a practice which gradually grew up, and prevailed, without plan, without any widely concerted agreement, controlled by no defined principles, and was left to the discretion of Abolitionists throughout the country, to be regulated by them in view of localities and circumstances. As might be expected, results were various, but too often unsatisfactory. Sometimes candidates refused to answer. Sometimes answers partially favorable were returned. Sometimes candidates were not brought out till it was too late to interrogate them. In such cases, Abolitionists having agreed beforehand on no plan to be adopted in view of such results, there was no concordant, conclusive action. Some would vote according to their party-preferences; others would not vote at all; the influence of the whole body was not felt.

About one year since, many of the best friends of the cause became discouraged. They had seen, as they thought, so little good result from the ordinary mode of political action, that they concluded some change necessary.

A Convention was called to meet at Albany. It met in July. What should constitute the standard of abolition-demand, was the main

question discussed. The result is known. Without any reference to places where our enterprise was yet in its infancy, in a state similar to that of the entire cause a few years ago, when Abolitionists scarcely thought of political action, or if they did, limited their requirements to one or two points,—they adopted a resolution declaring that they would not give their suffrages to any candidates for the chief executive and legislative offices in the nation, unless they were in favor of immediate abolition. The other question discussed was, the propriety of a separate political organization. It was debated at some length in the Convention, and then disposed of by referring it to the discretion of the local societies. Whether so designed or not, the resolution with regard to the proper standard of abolition-demand, prepared the way for the abandonment of the common mode of political action, and for the formation of an abolition political party.

The Convention adjourned. In a few months the Rochester Freeman raised the standard of such a party. The arguments of Mr. Holley were republished in the Emancipator, and endorsed by its editor. The editor of the Massachusetts Abolitionist, Elizur Wright, concurred. Then followed Alvan Stewart, and next, Mr. Gerrit Smith, the last, with fear and trembling. John G. Whittier gave his sanction to the movement, and Mr. Birney, it is well known, has been a decided supporter of it since the Cleveland Convention. Meantime the measure has been discussed in our papers; advocated in the Emancipator, Friend of Man, and Massachusetts Abolitionist; opposed in the Liberator, Philanthropist, Herald of Freedom, Voice of Freedom, Michigan Freeman, Charter Oak, Union Herald, &c. The Pennsylvania Freeman under its new editor, is adverse to it; the Christian Witness remains neutral, and the Maine Advocate of Freedom is undecided. It has found very little favor with the great body of Abolitionists. The societies in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, New Hampshire, Western Pennsylvania, and the friends generally in Illinois and Indiana have condemned it.

Notwithstanding this diversity of opinion, the advocates of the measure resolved on calling a convention of Abolitionists on the first of April, to discuss the propriety of separate nominations for the presidency. The convention consisted of 121 persons, 104 of them from New York State. Five other states were scantily represented. By a vote of 44 to 33 the Convention resolved to make a separate nomination, and Jas. G. Birney and Thomas Earle were selected as the candidates.

The effects of this new movement on the anti-slavery cause in many respects have appeared unfavorable. In the East great division of sentiment prevails with regard to it; and the discussions to which it has given birth are conducted in a spirit not the most favorable to cordial co-operation or a unanimous decision. The excessive zeal of some, it is to be feared, has cooled the ardor of others who have hitherto been devoted friends of our cause. In our own state, these effects are also beginning to be seen.

Refraining from any attempt at argument on the subject, which would bring up the question prematurely before the convention, the committee would remark, that, while the new course of political action proposed for adoption, is *untried*, the old course has in many places been productive of the happiest effects. In Massachusetts the results have been decisive, so far as the legislature is concerned. This year, notwithstanding the intestine broils among the Abolitionists of that commonwealth, the legislature has gone further than at any former period, since the era of abolition, in behalf of human rights. It not only has passed resolutions, solemnly protesting against the gag-rule of Congress, and demanding its immediate repeal; affirming the right of any portion of the people to petition Congress for redress of grievances or what to them may seem such, and the duty of Congress to receive their petitions and respectfully consider them; denouncing the mode of treating abolition-petitions by the Senate, as a virtual denial of the right of petition, and no less despotic, in effect, than the unconstitutional rule adopted by the House; and finally, declaring, that whatever institution or system cannot bear the light of investigation, is manifestly corrupt and dangerous, and ought not to be allowed to exist on a free soil. It not only has passed these stern resolutions by a vote of 306 to 11. It not only has adopted resolutions in regard to the rights of colored citizens of Massachusetts in slave-states. But, it has gone further, and fully responded to the prayers of

abolitionists, in regard to slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, &c.; as will be seen by the following resolutions, which are too good to be abridged.

"COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. In the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty. RESOLVES Relating to Slavery and the Slave Trade, and the admission of new States into the Union.

Whereas, domestic slavery exists in the District of Columbia; under the express authority of Congress, which at the time of the cession of the District, re-enacted the slave codes of Maryland and Virginia; and whereas, the sanction thus given to slavery, and its continued toleration at the seat of Government, form a manifest violation by this nation of the first principles of justice, and have a tendency to corrupt the moral sense, and to lower the character of the whole people of the United States; and whereas, this nation can have no higher interest, either before God or in the eyes of men, than the establishing of justice, and strengthening the just foundations of national honor; and whereas, slavery in the District of Columbia, being thus a national concern, and involving national responsibility, it is the right of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, to remonstrate against the common crime and the degradation of national character; therefore,

Resolved, That Congress ought to exercise its acknowledged power, in the immediate suppression of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

And whereas, by the Constitution of the United States, Congress has the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and between the several states of the Union, in the exercise of which power, Congress in the year 1808, abolished the foreign slave trade; and whereas, a domestic slave trade, as unjustifiable in principle as the African slave trade, and scarcely less cruel and inhuman in practice, is now carried on between the several states: therefore,

Resolved, That the domestic slave trade ought to be abolished by Congress, without delay.

Resolved, that no new State ought to be admitted into the Union, whose constitution shall tolerate domestic slavery.

Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their utmost efforts to give effect to the foregoing resolves.

Resolved, That His Excellency, the Governor, be requested to forward a copy of these resolves to each of the Senators and Representatives from Massachusetts in Congress, and to the governors of the several states, to be by them laid before their respective Legislatures."

But one thing more remains to be done—and that is, the repeal of the law relating to intermarriages, the last vestige of the slave-code. The measure was attempted this year, and failed only by a very small vote. Another year it will be carried.

All this has been accomplished in a state where the power of Abolitionists is lessened by internal dissensions, under a system of political action, which has been pronounced a total failure!

The anti-slavery action of the New York Assembly is also much in advance of any thing that has been done by it in former years. That Assembly, self-moved, by a vote of 85 to 10 in the House, and 20 to 4 in the Senate, adopted resolutions protesting against the gag-rule of Congress as an open and direct infringement of the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States; and censuring the conduct of that part of the New York delegation in Congress, that voted for it. Subsequently, the Assembly chamber was granted to the New York Anti-Slavery Society, for the purpose of hearing an abolition lecture from Mr. Alvan Stewart. Next, it rejected a resolution disapproving of the movements of Abolitionists. And finally, it has passed a most admirable bill, securing to persons claimed as fugitive slaves, the full benefits of a jury-trial.

All these acts are the fruits of abolition sentiment, brought to bear upon the legislature, by means of that very mode of political action, whose total failure is alleged as a sufficient reason, for the formation of a separate abolition party.

There are three reasons why this mode of political action has been followed by no equally decisive results in Ohio. 1st, Abolitionists in this state are fewer relatively than in Massachusetts, and fewer absolutely than in New York. 2nd, They have not equalled their brethren in those two states in systematic and faithful efforts to bring their principles to bear on the polls. 3d, For two years past, the majority in the General Assembly of this state has belonged to that party, whose uniform policy it is to conciliate the South, by extreme measures against abolitionism. Let us not be misunderstood. We simply state facts. That the policy of the opposition party, should it gain the ascendency, would not be the same in this respect, we do not say. Our only object now, is, to point out the reasons why the common mode of anti-slavery political action has hitherto effected so little in this state.

It is generally agreed that, it is our right and duty to exercise the right of suffrage in such a way as to stamp our principles on the legislation of the country. The great question is, which is the most effectual way of reaching this object. This question cannot safely be settled hastily. The large majority of abolitionists still adheres to the customary mode of political action. A minority, distinguished for zeal, and honesty, and talent, repudiates this mode, and would es-

tablish an abolition politica. party. The question between them, it is generally admitted, is a question of expediency. Such being the case, it is evident, that the discussion should be conducted in a fraternal spirit, under a deep sense of the importance of maintaining union, without abjectness on one part, or dogmatism on the other; and that no new, general measure should be rashly attempted, so long as there is hope of uniting the whole body of abolitionists in some concerted course of action. One thing is certain, however we may distract ourselves and weaken our influence by dissensions, the slaveholders know too well the value of union, not to unite as one man in supporting slavery. Minor differences of opinion they may entertain, but when slavery is in danger, they array in its defence an unbroken phalanx. Their continued encroachments should admonish the friends of liberty, that this is no time to fall out by the way.

Slavery is an abuse; and, inasmuch as an abuse, by its very nature is doomed to destruction, it naturally strives to avoid its fate by bringing the entire power of the government to protect it. It meddles with every question, seeks to control every interest, declares war against every system or principle based on truth, trembles at any action independent of its influence, and boldly announces itself as the cornerstone of our political institutions. 'Whenever,' says a profound French philosopher, 'there is an abuse in the social order, it appears to be the foundation of it, because, being heterogeneous and solitary in its nature, it is necessary for its preservation, that everything should yield to it, that it should be the centre of every thing, and hence that every thing should rest upon it.' This explains why it is, that every department of our national government is under the control of slavery—that the constitution and laws of the country; the Chief Executive, Congress and the Judiciary; state sovereignty and individual rights; the politics, the literature and the religion of the nation, have all been compelled to yield more or less to the power of slavery. The only safety of this enormous abuse is to be found in, universal submissiveness. Hence, the process of pro-slavery purification to which our school, and general literature has been subjected; the abject subserviance of political parties, especially at the present time, one party, ex. brawling abuse of abolitionists, the other by sneaking apologies, caught in the act of maintaining a liberal principle or measure, endeavoring to conciliate the favor of the slaveholder: hence the corruption of the church, & the criminal reluctance of its ministry to rebuke the sin of oppression; the abrogation of the right of petition by the present Congress, its disrespect to sovereign states in refusing to receive the resolves of their legislatures, and many other circumstances, which it is needless to name.

The spirit of domination, growing out of this enormous abuse is specially manifest in the construction put upon the present gag law of Congress.

The rule of the House of Representatives which declares, that no petition, memorial, resolution or other paper, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, or any state or territory, or the slave-trade between the states or territories of the United States, in which it now exists, shall be received by the House, or entertained in any way, has been construed by the slave-holding Speaker, so as to exclude

1st. Petitions for the abolition of the slave-trade within the District of Columbia;

2nd. Petitions against the foreign slave-trade;

3d. Petitions in regard to the protection of free people of color in the District, against the legal presumption of their being slaves;

4th. Memorials against the admission of Florida into the Union, as a slave-state.

And that there may be no record of the infamous despotism of this Congress, the Speaker has decided,

1st. That under the same rule, there should be no entry on the journal of the fact that such petitions were presented; and

2nd. That it is not in order for members who present them to move for such an entry.

Never was there a completer, more rigid, and more detestable system of tyranny than that, under which the people of the United States have been deprived of the right of petition.

While slavery thus forbids Congress to entertain even a petition against it, it hesitates not to demand additional favors at the hand of the general government. On the 10th of February three resolutions were introduced into the House by slaveholders, each one contemplating specific

action in behalf of slavery. One was in relation to the Enterprise, and slaves on board of her liberated by the authorities of Bermuda, in consequence of her having been driven into that port by stress of weather. Another related to slaves captured by the Creek Indians, and the expediency of compensating the owners out of appropriations made by Congress. The last contemplated the opening of negotiations with Great Britain for the reclamation of fugitive slaves. Not the slightest objection was made to entertaining these resolutions, but they were received and respectfully treated, as being proper subjects of congressional action. Had the resolution of the legislature of the sovereign state of Massachusetts, protesting against the admission of any new slave state into the Union been presented, she would have been insulted at once by a direct refusal on the part of the House to receive it, or in any way entertain it!

March 11th, Mr. Lumpkins presented in the Senate, resolutions of the Georgia legislature, asking Congress so to amend the laws relating to fugitive slaves, as to authorize the demand for such fugitives to be made upon a federal Judge in the state where they may have taken refuge, and making it the duty of such Judge, on the demand being properly made, to deliver them up. The amendment asked for, if granted, would have deprived the free states of one of the most essential attributes of sovereignty—that of protecting their own citizens. Arrogant and menacing speeches were made by the slaveholders; and, on their demand that the resolutions should be printed, and referred to the Judiciary committee, the motion was sustained without opposition.

On the 4th of March Mr. Calhoun introduced into the Senate resolutions impugning the justice of British laws, which make free every slave the moment his foot touches British soil, no matter how he may have reached there. They also affirmed the right of our government to reclaim slaves who may be shipwrecked on British shores, or driven by stress of weather into British ports. The tendency of the resolutions evidently was to bring this nation into collision with Great Britain on the subject of slavery. Mr. Calhoun was permitted, subsequently, to advocate his resolutions at length.—They were respectfully considered, and unanimously passed, all the whig senators from the northern states, except Mr. Dixon, of Rhode Island, absenting themselves. The right of the American slave-trader to carry on the domestic slave-trade, was hereby substantially affirmed, by the Senate; and their readiness to plunge into a war with Great Britain, at least so far as such resolutions go, was clearly manifested.

Now, how does a sovereign state fare in a more important matter than the loss of a few slaves on a foreign soil; in a matter more vital, than the mode in which the delivery of an occasional runaway slave is to be regulated? One of the resolutions of the legislature of Massachusetts had regard to the protection of colored citizens of that state against certain laws of other states, which imprison them, and reduce them to slavery, if they happen to be within their limits. A breach of the Constitution, a flagrant violation of the rights of Massachusetts are these laws. Certainly she is as much entitled to be heard, speaking through her legislature, in behalf of her citizens, as Mr. Calhoun, vindicating the rights of a few slave-traders, or Georgia, demanding federal legislation in favor of slavery. What are the facts?

Monday, April 13th, 1840.

"Mr. Adams having presented certain resolutions of the Legislature of Massachusetts in relation to laws passed by other states, which lead to the imprisonment of citizens of Massachusetts within their bounds, moved their reference to a select committee.

Mr. Andrews, of Kentucky, moved that they lie on the table.

On this motion, Mr. Calhoun, of Massachusetts, demanded the yeas and nays; which being taken, resulted as follows: yeas 102, nays 49.

So the resolutions were laid on the table.

The same disposition was made of another resolution of the Massachusetts Legislature, declaring the rule adopted by the House of Representatives excluding abolition petitions, to be in violation of the Constitution:—yeas 105, nays 44."

It is needless to comment on these facts; or to record a multitude of similar outrages. Enough has been advanced to show, that this nation is reduced to a condition of the most degrading vassalage to the slaveholder; that there is but one way peacefully to deliver it, and that is, by well-directed political action—by electing men to office, who will know how, and dare, not only to resist slavery, but to bring the whole force of a rectified public sentiment to bear upon it in all constitutional ways, so as finally to destroy it forever. And surely the evil with which we contend is not so feeble, as to embolden us to waste our energies in conflict with each other, or weaken them by divisions.

Abolitionists have arrived at a dangerous crisis. The administration party, in the West particularly, has racked its ingenuity to discover new modes of manifesting its subserviency to the South, and hatred of abolition. The last legislature of Ohio outstripped its predecessors in this disgraceful policy. Every thing which envenomed malice could suggest and a limited capacity compass, was done, to convince abolitionists that they had no longer any thing to hope from the democratic party. The danger now is, that under the influence of hasty resentment, or a vague expectation of benefit from a political revolution, they may be tempted to compromise their principles in the approaching contest between the parties.

Their duty is clear. It is, to stand independent of parties; to allow themselves to be deluded by vague promises from neither; to maintain their principles at all hazards; to give their support to no candidate for office unless they have conclusive evidence, that he is in favor of reforming the state in regard to slavery. What is the use of a change of power if there be none of principle? A pro-slavery whig is as bad as a pro-slavery democrat. To put down one dishonest man by electing another, is benefiting nobody. Servility is servility, anti-abolition is anti-abolition, by whomsoever practiced. It is not our vocation to avenge our own wrongs; to strive against a party that has abused us, by way of retaliation. Then indeed we might form any alliance however incongruous. The work of abolitionists is, to establish the principles of civil liberty, and procure the repeal of all laws which in any way violate the rights of the colored man, or contribute to perpetuate the wrongs of the slave. No matter how much indignity may be offered to them by one party, so long as the other refuses to give them sufficient ground for believing that it will not do likewise. To support the whig party for the sake of retaliating our injuries on the democratic party, would be irrational and mean; and at the same time, bring our cause into contempt, and our own reputation into disrepute. We must steadily and inflexibly demand submission from both parties to our principles. Nothing can be more reasonable. What are our principles? Are they any thing more or less than what we find recorded in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of Ohio?

Whatever changes take place, abolitionism must not suffer; too many important interests are involved in it. No true anti-slavery man, whether whig or democrat, will ever consent to regard the question of slavery as a minor consideration.

REMARKS OF DR. BAILEY,

ON THE SUBJECT OF POLITICAL ACTION,

Made before the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Convention, at Massillon, May 28th, 1840.

The critical point in our enterprise, has at length been reached. So long as the duties of abolitionists were confined to writing, speaking, giving; to the use of those means which are included under the general phrase—moral-suasion—all was harmony of opinion, and concert of movement. But, when it became a duty to *act*, to act politically, as well as to *testify*, the germs of division began to show themselves. No immediate danger threatened, so long as our societies and conventions contented themselves with *stating some general* principles of action, and merely *recommending* to abolitionists, adherence to them in practice. But, when the matter was taken in hand seriously—when political action began to be insisted upon as a religious duty—when it became manifest, that our conventions were determined to adopt a policy, which would bind every abolitionist to the utter sacrifice of every party-prejudice or interest, should the welfare of our enterprise demand it; then came strife, contention, lukewarmness on the part of some, ultra zeal on the part of others. Then came open division of sentiment, and a loss of mutual confidence, that augured badly for the cause. Need we say that we are describing an existing state of things?

Now I take it for granted, that there is no abolitionist present, who does not hold, that it is his duty to make his principles felt at the ballot-box. We all are convinced of the propriety, the necessity of political action. But, as to the principles which should regulate this action —here is the dividing point. I believe the division is not so great as by many is supposed. Hitherto, at none of our anniversaries in this state, have we investigated at length, the subject of the political duties of abolitionists. Gen-

eral resolutions have been passed, without however examining the principles on which they were based, or the results to which they might lead. They have been passed, rather as a matter of course, than with a just appreciation of their nature, and a deliberate intention to abide by them in practice. Is it any wonder then, that as the duty of political action presses on us more and more, we should find ourselves without plan, without harmony!

The time has arrived when we must meet the question. It is at length brought, for the first time, fully and fairly under our notice. We are called upon to act with much forbearance, deliberation, candor, caution. Let us bear in mind, that *every* principle must not of necessity be settled at once—every thing be done in this convention, nothing left for succeeding ones. It is the part of wisdom to decide on as many *principles* and *measures* as we can; and to postpone further decisions, where it becomes manifest that they will only end in wrangling and division. We must take it for granted that our brethren are honest; and, that if they cannot be convinced now, they may be next year.

The resolutions* contemplate a vigorous course of political action, but are intended to be conciliatory. They embrace principles, it is hoped, on which we all can agree; although they may not embrace others, which a few think highly important. They certainly go as far as the state of anti-slavery sentiment in Ohio now renders proper; though not so far as we may find it expedient to go hereafter. The great object is, while we take strong ground now, and prepare the way for still stronger, to maintain union and mutual confidence.

In truth sir, we are in a critical condition. If no platform can be framed on this subject, on which we can all stand, and co-operate, evil must result. I stand here, an advocate of *union*—but a union only upon right principles. If union is to be secured by the sacrifice of the integrity of our cause, by compromising our principles with any reigning party, then welcome division. Twelve men with right principles and *consistent action*, will do more, than thousands who are united in daily violating their own professed principles. It is not the time to indulge in proscription, or push speculative dogmas to extremes, until we drive off from our association, all practical men; neither is it a time to relax in our duties, as political abolitionists. Let us see, whether, in all the great principles of political action, we are not agreed. I think we are—I am sure we are.—Call to mind the grandeur of our object. Shall the excitements of party warfare raging around us, blind us to the dishonor of our country, close our ears to the clanking of chains in our land, cause us to forget our high vocation! What is our mission? It is, to emancipate a sixth part of our countrymen, deliver our government from bondage to the slaveholding power—as relentless, as it is grasping—re-establish the principles of the Declaration of Independence, wipe away from our nation the reproach of inhumanity, meanness, and hypocrisy, and thus present her to the world a bright and beautiful example of the greatness that may be attained by a holy regard for human rights, and obedience to God. If, in the fulfilment of this glorious mission, we should be called upon to make sacrifices, shall we not do it? If *we* are not prepared for self sacrifice, who is? Millions of our fellow-citizens are engaged in taking care of the *common* interests of our country. The welfare of the slave is a matter alien to their sympathies. A profession of regard for this welfare is the tie that binds us together—is the reason why we are here assembled. We are but few—but we are all, who are doing any thing for his interests. Are we not prepared to make a few sacrifices, for his great gain! While nearly three millions of human beings are crushed down under a load of intolerable wrong in our borders, shall we not, if necessary, rejoice in giving up party-attachments and prejudices! *We* shall not be greatly injured, should our several parties be defeated. But, what hope is there at our hands for the chained and degraded slave, unless we make his cause a paramount one!

I will now make a few explanatory remarks on the resolutions, that have been read, and leave them to the Convention to dispose of.

The first resolution declares, that in the opinion of this Convention, the anti-slavery cause has claims upon American citizens, *in a political point of view*, paramount to the claims of any of the questions which now divide political parties.

Are there any here who will deny the truth of

*See resolutions of Business Committee, on Political Action, 2nd page.

this declaration? There may be some—some, who, while they admit that the question, whether three millions of slaves shall be emancipated, transcends in importance all present political questions, yet suppose that we, in the free states, can do so little *politically*, in deciding it, that we may have other political duties of more importance. Were the whole subject of slavery within the jurisdiction of Congress—had this body as much power to abolish the system in the states, as in the District of Columbia, there is no abolitionist on this floor, however indisposed hitherto to political action, who would not at once confess that the question of slavery with us, ought to be the paramount, political question. But there are those who think, that our political connections with slavery on he whole are so slight, that political action in regard to them, may, without sacrifice of principle, be subordinate.

Let us examine this matter. Let us see what are the circumstances from which arise our political responsibilities.

First;—there are our laws against the free colored people, and indirectly supporting slavery,—laws, which deprive them of the benefit of a jury-trial, in those cases where it is most needed; which license and invite the commission of violence and fraud on their persons and property, degrade their character, and wound their feelings, by forbidding them to bear testimony against a white man; which condemn them to ignorance by excluding them from the benefits of the common-school fund; which humiliate, and insult and vex them by presuming them slaves, and making them pay for freedom-certificates; which punish our citizens with heavy fines or imprisonment, for obeying the dictates of humanity and commands of God, in extending mercy to the outcast and wanderer; which make it obligatory on all officers of the law to recognize slavery in the slave states, without proof,—and there too, is the *organic* law of the state, which deprives colored people of the right of suffrage, because of their color, while their property is taxed—thus violating the very principle which constituted the chief ground and justification of our rebellion against Great Britain. Now here is a goodly catalogue of laws, for a state professing to be republican and christian. Are they not gross transgressions of the principles of our constitution—palpable and extraordinary contradictions to the doctrines on which our national and state-existence is predicated? Are they not wanton invasions of human rights—loathsome developments of hatred against the poor and helpless—bold infractions of the law of God, which commands us to love our neighbor as ourselves? and do they not convict us at once of hypocrisy and malice? These laws are made by *us*—their meanness and wickedness cover *us* with disgrace—on *us* rests the responsibility of their repeal. Now, we may delude ourselves, if we please, by false reasoning,—still, it will be no less true, that no prospect of party, pecuniary, or other interest, however great, will justify us in adjourning the question of redressing wrongs we are inflicting on a neighbor. If I am called upon to decide between doing a plain act of justice now, or putting it off, until I shall have done some act advantageous to myself, how shall I decide? Which ought I to postpone—a question which regards my own interests or the interests of my party, or a question which concerns the redress of certain wrongs I am inflicting on a brother man? Can any expected good to myself whatever, justify me in delaying justice to him whom I have wronged? Every man's conscience answers. No personal or party-interest whatsoever, can excuse the adjournment of a question of right and wrong. The question then of the repeal of the legislation of this state against colored people, is paramount, and ought not to be postponed.

The same reasoning holds good in the case of slaves held in the District of Columbia, and the domestic slave-trade. Some of you may have noticed in the papers a few months since, astounding developments in regard to the extent of this traffic.—90,000 slaves imported into Mississippi in the space of three years—every hill-top covered, every village surrounded with the tents of the trafficker in human blood and bones! Have you ever estimated how many families must have been broken up, how many tender ties torn asunder, how many hearts broken, how many mothers left childless, how many wives, widows, how many wailings must have gone up into the ears of the God of the oppressed, while this brutal traffic was in progress? Whom will God hold accountable for this murderous traffic—for the inconceivable anguish it has brought upon the poor and defence-

less? Those, who have the right and the power to put it down—the people of the free states, no less than the abandoned slave-traders. For it is clearly within the power of our citizens by their votes to put an end to this wickedness. How is it possible that we can persuade ourselves that God will hold us guiltless, so long as we subordinate a question of such vital importance to questions of political economy?

Look further at our peculiar constitutional connections with slavery in the South. These are of such a character, as to involve us in guilt, political degradation, and extreme peril.

The law of God, and of nature, commands us to betray not the innocent, not to deliver up the slave to his master, not to join with the wicked man in his oppression. The Constitution of the United States requires us to give up to bondage, one whom we know is entitled to liberty by the same charter which secures it to us—to give our sanction to oppression.

Every sentiment of justice and humanity cries out against the damning iniquity, of aiding guilty might against rebellious right—despotic power in its efforts to re-establish oppression over those who, appealing to the God of the oppressed, have rives their chains, and solemnly pledged themselves to die, freemen, rather than live slaves. That detestable act, from which our nature recoils in horror, the constitution enjoins upon us as a duty. The free states in fact, are compelled to stand sentinels over slavery. It is hardly too strong language to say—that it exists now, mainly by force of the provisions in the constitution, which secure for its protection, the power of the whole nation.

But, sir, these connections politically degrade us. We at the North are represented in Congress, according to our numbers. Slaveholders are represented according to their numbers, and the amount of their slave-property. 25 representatives on the floor of Congress represent slave-property. Take one or two facts, as illustrative of the inequitable bearings of the ratio of representation fixed in the Constitution. New Jersey, with a free population of 318,558, has only six representatives in Congress, and eight votes for President; and her portion of the surplus revenue was $1,019,560, or $3 20 to each free inhabitant of the state; while Georgia, with a free population of only 220,295, has 9 representatives and 11 electoral votes, and received of the surplus revenue $1,401,896, or $4 80 to each free inhabitant. Two freemen of the South, are equal to three freemen of the North. Ohio, with as many voters, within nine thousand, as Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi put together, has not one-third as many electors or representatives, as those states. One slaveholder in them, has as much political power, as about three of the hard-working freemen of Ohio! Is not this *degradation?* Now I confess, this simple fact, when I consider its gross injustice, and the disastrous influence it has exerted over the independence of the free states, humbles me, vexes me, fills me with deeper indignation, than all the folly and misrule that have been charged on the present Administration, or any preceding ones.

But sir, I am not yet done. This government is now used, and has been used by the slave holder to promote the interests of slavery at home and abroad. With a population not half so great as that of the free states, the South has given us our Presidents and Vice Presidents, and for the last 20 years, the speakers of the House of Representatives. It has filled our chief executive offices, and our cabinets. It has controlled the policy of the government, in relation to almost every public question. It has compelled the government to urge with disgraceful pertinacity, claims for slave-property, negotiations for the surrender of runaway slaves—and this too, in such a way, as to annoy and vex other governments, exciting at once their contempt and indignation. In all things, and nearly at all times, the slave-holding interest has been the predominant, controlling element in our government.—In view of these facts, is there a man that feels for the honor of his country, regards its welfare, and has a proper abhorrence of slavery, and slave-holding arrogance, who will not concede, that the question of slavery, even in a political point of view, ought to be the paramount question with the American people?

Look further at the *perils* to which this reigning influence subjects us. I allude not now to the weakness of our southern border—the rapid growth of a population in our midst, alien, ignorant and degraded; one in origin, feeling, and habits with the emancipated colonists of the West Indies: ready in case of war with a foreign enemy, to rush to the standard of an invader.—

I mean the aggressions already committed on our rights by the slave-holding power. Look at its attempts—first to stimulate public opinion to the subdual of lynch-law—next to use executive power to put up popular fury, and to suggest penal laws against our enterprise—next to violate the privileges of the post office—next to destroy freedom of debate in Congress, and the right of petition—finally, to ride over the sovereignty and institutions of the free states, by congressional provisions in favor of the slave-holder who may wish to carry his train of human chattels with him to the North. You know how entirely successful these attempts have been in many cases. You know, that in congress at this time, there is not one jot or tittle more of the right to discuss freely, than the slave-holder allows—and that *the right of petition is not*. What soul here was not startled, when the intelligence first reached it, that the Congress of the United States, in obedience to the slave-holder's mandate, had madly violated the plain letter of the constitution, in denying a right, which the meanest subject under the meanest despotism can exercise with freedom? From the past, judge of the future. From the attempts made, from the acts done, tremble at the prospect of the outrages, which such despotism, unchecked, unsubdued, may yet perpetrate. What is there, in the movements of any political party, (unconnected with the slavery-question,) which ought to excite so much alarm and disquietude, as the usurpations of this slave-holding power?

Once more, sir,—has the abolitionist, who has hitherto doubted the truth of the declaration contained in this resolution, weighed well the effects of consistent political action against slavery on the part of the free states? Suppose the legislation of these states, which now oppresses the free colored man, and countenances slavery by endorsing the principle on which it is founded, were all repealed—suppose slavery in the District of Columbia, and the domestic slave-trade were abolished—suppose it were impossible henceforth, for any state whose constitution tolerated slavery, to obtain admission into the Union—suppose no slave-holder could be elected President or Vice President of the United States—suppose all executive offices were filled by men, pledged to do nothing more for the protection of slave-holding interests, than the constitution rigidly enjoined—suppose the people of the free states, as with one voice, should demand the amendment of those parts of the constitution which in any way recognize the evil,—how long could the system stand? Now all these changes lie within the constitutional power of the citizens of the free states. But, they never can be effected, except through political action—and who shall commence such action, if not abolitionists?

These considerations, sir, it strikes me, are sufficient to prove the truth of the first resolution.

The second resolution declares, that no voter ought to sacrifice the interests of this cause to the promotion of any party-interest whatsoever. This needs no remark. If the truth of the first resolution be admitted, the truth of this must follow of course.

The third resolution is intended to guard against misrepresentation. It assumes, that while we view the question of slavery, regarded politically, as paramount to other political questions, we do not consider it an exclusive one; neither would we undervalue the importance of these questions.

Abolitionists, I think, have erred, in disparaging the objects and principles of party. It is certainly assuming to ourselves too much, to charge our countrymen, universally, with contending about nothing—or, worse than nothing, the spoils of office. From the conduct of a few, we have no right to infer the character of whole masses. I have no doubt myself, that the questions at issue between the two parties, are of great importance—that there is much truth on both sides—that on both sides is a large amount of sincere attachment to principle, and devotion to what each supposes to be, the welfare of the country. Far be it from me to insult my fellow countrymen, or to throw contempt upon the great subjects of political economy about which there is so much diversity of opinion. That there are multitudes of hollow-hearted, ambitious wretches, who take advantage of the honest zeal of the people, to ride into power, and riot in the gains of office, we know. But, all are not demagogues. The mistake is, in giving undue importance to question of political economy, and modes of administration:—in placing these above questions which involve primarily, great and fundamental rights—without the full recognition and pro-

tection of which, there is no sure basis for economical welfare.

Of course, sir, I consider it unwise to war against parties, as such. Our mission is, not to exterminate, but reform—not to prove that there is nothing of any consequence in the world but slavery, but that this question ought to be paramount to all party-questions now agitating our country. What may be the ultimate influence on present party-divisions, of the recognition of this great fact by the public mind, it is not for me to say.

The fourth resolution touches an important subject, but leaves it expressly for the decision of abolitionists individually. It is obvious that the question, whether abolitionists in certain cases, shall simply withhold their votes, or bestow them on candidates nominated by themselves, is a question which they have a right to settle for themselves, as American citizens. No convention—no party has any right to bind them in this matter. It is a question, the decision of which to a great extent must depend upon circumstances, that cannot now be foreseen. Suppose a county in which were four thousand voters, pretty equally divided between the two parties, and that one-fourth of the whole number were abolitionists. Candidates are brought out, adverse on all points to the cause of human rights. The duty of abolitionists, in such a case, I think, would be plain,—let them withhold their votes. But, what should they do with them? For one, I am not prepared to decide; and so many circumstances, impossible to be known by this convention, would have to be taken into the account, in making up a judgment, we cannot decide, whether it would be better to start another nomination, or simply stay away from the polls. Either kind of action, harmonized in by all, would secure the desired result—a better nomination at the next election. As to which would be the safer and more efficient plan, abolitionists on the spot would be the best judges. One thing, however, I am sure of—no signal movement in a political way, ought now to be attempted, unless *union* among abolitionists can be calculated upon—much less, when it threatens to end in irretrievable division.

I come, sir, to the last resolution, which contemplates the present anti-slavery organization, as *primarily*, and *strictly* a *moral* one, bound in view of its own constitution, its repeated professions, and its great object—the abolition of Southern slavery—to act by strictly *moral* means.

By moral means is meant, the publication of facts, arguments and appeals, calculated to enlighten the understanding, convince the judgment and awaken the conscience and humanity of the nation on the subject of slavery—all such means, in short, as are recognized as legitimate by other associations of a similar character. The resolution would have the convention further affirm, that it views with disapprobation any attempt to convert our organization into a political party. It should be remarked, that it does not touch the question of a political party, organized on anti-slavery principles, independent of our organization. This question it leaves to abolitionists in their citizen-capacity, to be determined in the light of experience. The resolution simply is intended to guard our *present* moral organization, and preserve it free from the perils of *political strife*. Such an organization is evidently required, to disseminate truth, determine principles, maintain a pure standard of faith and policy, and exalt the tone of the nation on the subject of human rights. It is required, as an organ, through which the moral and religious voice of the nation may be addressed to the ear of the South.

Mr. President—to those who are enemies to political action and imagine that every thing is to be accomplished by public sentiment, I would address myself for a few moments.

The average moral character of men holding executive and legislative offices under our national government, from a period not long subsequent to its establishment, has been almost uniformly below the average morality of the nation. Generally, men are sent to congress and our state legislatures who, in point of capacity, good manners, and moral principle, sadly *mis*-represent their constituents. Who does not know, that the acts of our present congress and preceding ones have dishonored the nation, excited the derision of Europe, and furnished the advocates of despotism with new arguments against the democratic principle? And what Ohioan does not blush, when he calls to mind the moral composition of the last two legislatures of this state? The recklessness, vulgarity and immorality of American representatives have passed into a proverb.

Take another fact. The public sentiment of this country from the date of the adoption of the constitution, until a few years since, was indisputably, unfriendly to slavery. Still this system rapidly enlarged its boundaries, multiplied its victims fourfold, set at nought all the influences, which it was supposed would overthrow it, laid its hand on the government, and became at length powerful enough to fill the highest seats, and control the disposal of nearly all offices of national trust and power. In spite of an opposing *public sentiment*, two or three hundred thousand slaveholders, united by the strong bond of a common interest, contrived to impose their yoke on the nation, and give law to the government.

Again. Public sentiment in this country has always been hostile to intemperance. But, what availed it? Steadily and rapidly until within a short period, did this evil grow up, gathering strength every year, scattering its curses broadcast through the land, until, despite an adverse public sentiment, it threatened ruin to our country.

Sir, *these are facts*. What is their explanation? It is this. Public sentiment in favor of morality, or against any particular evil, accomplishes nothing, can accomplish nothing, so long as it remains a *mere sentiment*. You must *organize* it, you must make it a *living principle*, you must transform it into *action*, you must make sentimentalists, *actors*, before you can make it *effective*. Evil is an ever-active principle, always aggressive. You must meet it with action, with aggression, or your mere sentiment will collapse under its power.

Had all who were *sentimentally* in favor of good morals, made their sentiment a principle of action from the beginning, and steadily agreed in bestowing their votes only upon moral men, think you that congress and our state legislatures would have been what they now are?—Had every body opposed in *sentiment* to slavery, *voted out* his sentiment, and always rejected silently the claims of pro-slavery or slaveholding candidates, the name and necessity of a modern abolitionist would never have been recognized. Mere sentiment of itself does not lead to action. Sentiment and action in our case have contradicted each other. This is why the practice of our government contradicts the theory. This is why the *freest* nation on earth" at once inflicts and suffers a slavery, pre-eminently oppressive and disgraceful.

For many years past, the people of Cincinnati have been convinced, that the existence and increase of coffee-houses amongst them were a great evil. Public sentiment clearly condemned them. But, it was *unorganized*, and therefore *inactive*. Bad men, though in a decided minority, were united and active. They kindly saved their better neighbors the trouble of electing the officers. Always present at political meetings, never absent from the polls, they loved to rule over others, in proportion as they were unable to rule their own spirits. Political noise, and intrigue, and influence, and notoriety suited their taste. Besides, they were interested in having just such legislation as would not interfere with their vices. Many of them contended earnestly for the precious privilege of getting drunk themselves, and making others drunk, with the least possible expense. Good men *thought*, and *felt*, and *talked* against the coffee-house system. But they were not ambitious. No matter who filled the offices, they got along very well. Coffee-houses *might* be licensed—*they* were not compelled to drink. They had their own affairs to attend to—were busied in contributing to the wealth of the community, or in plans of private benevolence, or in religious enterprises. Power they cared nothing about, and the uproar and trickery of an electioneering day disgusted them. They forgot, that "when the righteous are in authority the people rejoice; but when the wicked bear rule, the people mourn." So, although a large majority, they either neglected to vote at all, or made a choice of evils from the corrupt candidates imposed upon them by an unprincipled minority.

At last, sir, the Genius of Temperance raised its voice. The alarm was sounded. Temperance agents, temperance prints, temperance meetings soon convinced the people of the ruin about to come upon them—and that good men, sober men must *act* as well as *feel—must act through the ballot box*, and wrest the government of the city from the hands of the depraved few. The crisis came. Temperance men were put in nomination, elected by triumphant majorities, and the coffee-house system fell. Had the good men of Cincinnati acted from the beginning, as well as *felt*, how much poverty, and wretchedness, and crime would have been prevented! But

mark! Even now, so sleepless is the Evil One, so insidious in his wiles, so determined in purpose, so single-eyed in his zeal for rum, that in a city, where three-fourths of the people are hostile to coffee-houses, the utmost effort is demanded to prevent a renewed growth of them.

This case illustrates what has happened time and again, all over the country. It shows how an odious usage or practice may grow up steadily under the eye of an *adverse public sentiment;* how it rallies round itself and organizes in its defence, all the worst elements of society; and how, by the aid of a most miserable, meagre minority, it may yet secure itself in the heart of a hostile community, under the very wing of the law! It teaches too the true mode in which public sentiment is to be made *effective*.

The ballot-box, sir, must be regarded as a great moral instrumentality. It is certainly a formidable instrument; and if good men do not use it for good, bad men will use it for evil.—Ought we, believing as we do, that civil government is an ordinance of God, abandon it to the control of the Devil? Moral and religious men must learn to appreciate the solemn obligation of their duties as citizens, and in the bestowment of their votes, act in view of the interests of morality, and under a deep sense of responsibility to God. What is the use of a free government, if the morality of a free people is no to give it tone and character? Better, far better, be under the control of a *single* bad man, than in subjection to a hydra-headed monster of iniquity. Church and State are divorced in our country. I am glad of it. The kingdom of Christ does not depend on human legislation. I would not have government attempt to legislate over the consciences of men, or *legislate* them into religion. But, while good men seek no legislation in support of religion, let them suffer none, in favor of irreligion and immorality. While they justly spurn the authority of human edicts *over* the conscience, let them tolerate no legislative outrages *against* the conscience. When will this moral, free people learn, that they cannot divorce their religion and their politics? Does not the same moral law bind them in the bestowment of their votes, in the exercise of their political duties, as in the performance of any other duties? Do they lay aside their character, as moral agents, when they stand at the ballot-box? Do they not know, that legislation in its course often involves high moral principles, great questions of right and wrong, and that it can be made, and will be made, subservient to wickedness, unless they prevent? How is it possible then, for them to cast their votes for men, who, they know, will throw their influence on the side of rum-drinking, slave-holding, or some other crime?

Slavery in the South and in the District of Columbia, the domestic slave-trade; the oppression of the free colored man, and the countenance and support given to slavery, in the free states, are all moral evils, upheld by legislation, which contravenes God's law. By legislation sir, they must be abolished. Our business is, not only to destroy the slaveholding spirit—to obtain a decision of the *public sentiment* against these evils. This is but preparatory. *Political action* must consummate the work. Wicked legislation must be repealed and substituted by such laws, as shall secure to the oppressed their rights. We all calculate on such action among slaveholders. But have *we* nothing to *do*? Is there no criminal legislation for which we are responsible?—Where are our black laws, our laws in favor of slavery, our responsibilities in regard to slavery at the seat of the national government, and the inter-state slave-trade? Where, our responsibilities in regard to the fundamental rights of free discussion, and petition, which year after year are invaded by Congress? Are we to *think* and *feel* away these evils? Or, is it by *action* they must be remedied? Think you, that if *we* do not commence political action against them, it will ever be commenced? Recollect the three facts to which allusion has been made. Public sentiment, I repeat, in this case must become public *action*, or it is worthless. Water corrupts by stagnation. Iron rusts for want of use. Inaction destroys health. Principle, enacted on, wastes away. Good and evil, liberty and slavery, are antagonist principles. Evil never sleeps, but goes about like a roaring lion, seeking whom it may devour. If the good man permits his good to sleep, evil will come upon it, and take it captive. If good principles are to triumph, they must be acted out, in every legitimate way. Only on such conditions, can truth conquer—only on such *condition* can liberty annihilate slavery. All our moral suasion is but preparatory. The suasion of right voting in

the state. The evasion of strict discipline in the ... h, must decide the question.

Who then will not act? Sir, to God and man we stand pledged to use all proper means for the overthrow of slavery. We move on a broad theatre. The eyes of the world are turned towards us. The spirit of the age is upon us; the philanthropists of Europe cheer us onwards; the conscience of the slaveholder is with us; the cry of the slave is ringing in our ears; the whole earth is moved, the heavens are alive with the sounds of liberty to the captive, shout! for the God of the oppressed has come down to break in pieces the rod of the oppressor, and deliver the poor out of his hand! Amid such a scene, can we remain unmoved! Is there nothing in it to exalt us above all local and temporary questions? There is. We feel, I am sure, the inspiration of the age. Henceforth then, let us resolve to *act*—act for the slave, as we would for ourselves—seeing it is God who has called us to be co-workers with him in establishing upon an indestructible basis, the right of every human being to the ownership of himself!

TREASURER'S ANNUAL REPORT.

Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society in account with WILLIAM DONALDSON for year commencing May 16th, 1839, and ending May 16th, 1840.

DISBURSEMENTS.

P'd. Editor of the Philanthropist, and Corresponding Secretary,	$859 75	
" Publishing Agent,	460 00	
" Agents and Lecturers' Salary* & Expenses,	1212 00	
" Printing Philanthropist, Reports, &c.	2131 00	
" Postages,	1974 80	
" Anti-slavery books & pamphlets,	1379 85	
" Rent of office, 1¼ years,	157 50	
" Office expenses, for stationary, fuel, postage, assistance, &c. per state'm.	445 54	
" Law expenses,	121 36	
" current & counterfeit money,	45 68	
" Interest,	24 20	
" M. R. Robinson, donation voted him at the last Convention,	100 00	
	9231 74	
Credits,	8742 69	
Balance due the Treasurer,	$489 05	

RECEIPTS.

Cash on hand on last settlement,	$19 11	
" Received on Pledges and Donations,	2509 39	
" " for unexpired money sold,	2 50	
" " for Mr. Mahan,	25 00	
" " on suit, against Cincinnati Mobocrats,	1219 35	
" " for colored schools,	16 09	
" " for Philanthropist,	2821 97	
" " from Depository,	1369 60	
	7974 95	
" " from Dearlove, May 18,	30 00	
" " at Massillon Con'n. " 30,	735 74	
	8742 69	

* Owing to the plan adopted, of making our lecturers dependent on the county societies, within whose limits they labor, all the monies paid agents, &c. do not appear in our Treasurer's book, because they have not been reported by the societies. About $1200, we presume, have not been reported. This would make the actual receipts and expenditures of the Society, about eleven thousand dollars.